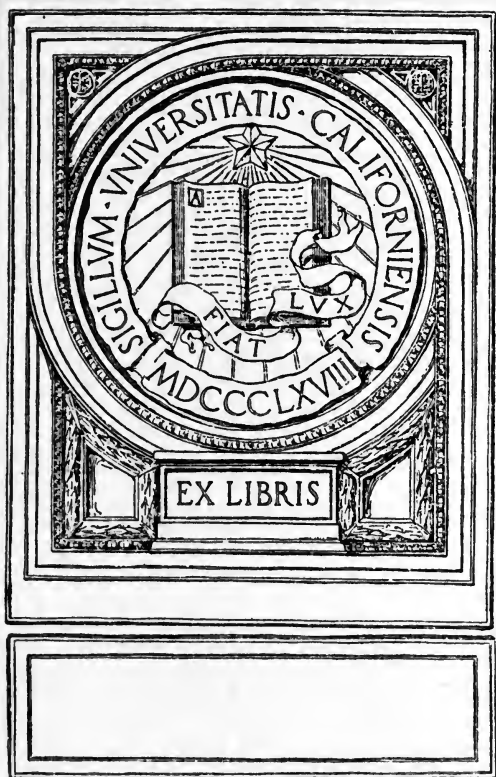


INDUSTRIAL  
WARFARE





Digitized by the Internet Archive  
in 2007 with funding from  
Microsoft Corporation



# INDUSTRIAL WARFARE

THE AIMS AND CLAIMS OF CAPITAL  
AND LABOUR



# INDUSTRIAL WARFARE

THE AIMS AND CLAIMS OF  
CAPITAL AND LABOUR

BY CHARLES WATNEY  
AND JAMES A. LITTLE

"That action is best which procures the greatest happiness for the greatest numbers; and that worst which, in like manner, occasions misery."

—FRANCES HUTCHESON THE ELDER, 1694–1747: *Inquiry into the Original of our Ideals of Beauty and Virtue* (1725), Treatise ii. Sec. 3, "An Inquiry concerning Moral Good and Evil."

"Priestley was the first . . . who taught my lips to pronounce this sacred truth—that the greatest happiness of the greatest number is the foundation of morals and legislation."—*Bentham's Works*, vol. x. p. 142.

"The whole essence of good government is not the old shibboleth of the greatest good for the greatest number, but the well-being of all."—MR. BEN TURNER, the President, at the Labour Party Conference, 1912.



LONDON

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET, W.

1912

HD8390  
.W2

9'

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

NO. 1111  
1111111111

## PREFACE

DESPITE the universality of interest in the Labour movement, there does not appear to exist any epitome which may explain to the ordinary reader the exact significance and the probabilities of the growing unrest. With that primary object the authors have compiled this volume, though they venture to hope that even the student, the politician, and the expert may welcome a résumé in encyclopædic form which may usefully supplement the more detailed and specialised literature of the various aspects of the whole question.

The authors welcome the opportunity to express their indebtedness to the many able organisers, both among the masters and the men—too many to mention individually by name—who have kindly given them expert help, and greatly lightened their task; they would further like to put on record their obligations to the various excellent publications, both Government and semi-private, which have been issued by the Departments and Organisations which, along different lines, it may be, are all moving to the common end of finding a solution of the great problems of our time.



# CONTENTS

	PAGE
PREFACE . . . . .	v
INTRODUCTION . . . . .	1
CHAPTER	
I. THE HISTORY OF LABOUR ORGANISATION IN GREAT BRITAIN . . . . .	12
Agitation, Procedure, Policy, and Line of Action	
II. THE RISE OF SYNDICALISM . . . . .	28
(1) What it is and means	
(2) The Chief Personalities	
III. THE "ISMS" IN LABOUR UNREST . . . . .	35
IV. THE MINIMUM WAGE . . . . .	37
What it is and what is suggested	
V. INTERNATIONAL WORKING . . . . .	43
How Co-operation is ensured	
Personalities of the Movement	

CHAPTER	PAGE
VI. THE SITUATION IN THE RAILWAY WORLD Issues and Personalities	47
VII. THE SITUATION IN THE TRANSPORT WORLD Issues and Personalities	71
VIII. THE SITUATION IN THE COTTON AND WEAVING TRADES . . . . .	99
IX. THE SITUATION IN THE MINING WORLD .	124
X. SHIPBUILDING AND ENGINEERING INDUSTRIES Issues and Personalities	144
XI. THE SITUATION AMONG THE METAL WORKERS . . . . .	172
XII. THE SITUATION AMONG THE GENERAL LABOURERS . . . . .	179
XIII. THE BUILDING TRADE . . . . .	184
XIV. WOMEN WORKERS: THEIR DEMANDS AND CHIEF WORKERS . . . . .	197



# CONTENTS

ix

CHAPTER	PAGE
<p>XV. CLOTHING, FOOD, AND THE MISCELLANEOUS TRADES (BOOTS, PRINTING, ETC.) .</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">Issues and Personalities</p>	200
<p>XVI. LEGISLATIVE PRIVILEGES OBTAINED AND LEGAL RULINGS . . . . .</p>	219
<p>XVII. THE GOVERNMENT AND LABOUR UNREST</p>	233
<p>XVIII. SUGGESTED REMEDIES . . . . .</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">(1) From the Employers' Point of View</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">(2) From the Workers' Point of View</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">(3) From the View of the General Public</p>	239
<p>XIX. PROFIT SHARING AND CO-PARTNERSHIP .</p>	255
<p>XX. THE LOWER MIDDLE CLASS AND LABOUR UNREST . . . . .</p>	262
<p>XXI. SUMMARY OF LABOUR LEGISLATION .</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">(1) At Home</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">(2) In the Colonies</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">(3) Abroad</p>	267
<p>XXII. THE ORDINARY WORKING MAN'S WEEKLY BUDGET . . . . .</p>	280

## APPENDICES

	PAGE
A. TRADE AND THE LABOUR CRISIS . . .	287
B. THE MANNING SCALE IN EXISTENCE . . .	292
C. THE COST OF RUNNING A STATION . . .	298
D. THE POSTAL AGITATION . . . . .	299
E. THE INDUSTRIAL COUNCIL . . . . .	302
F. HOURS OF LABOUR . . . . .	305
G. LABOUR'S MOST ADVANCED DEMANDS . . .	306
H. "PEACEFUL PICKETING" . . . . .	307
I. GOVERNMENT POWERS . . . . .	309
J. "THE CONSCIOUS MINORITY" . . . . .	311
K. THE LOWNESS OF WOMEN'S WAGES . . .	312
L. THE COAL MINES (MINIMUM WAGE) ACT, 1912 . . . . .	313
M. RAILWAY CONCILIATION BOARDS AND RAILWAY RETURNS, 1911 . . . . .	343
N. THE NEW FORM OF TRADE FEDERATION . .	345
O. THE EIGHT HOUR DAY . . . . .	347
INDEX . . . . .	349

# INDUSTRIAL WARFARE

## INTRODUCTION

“Hasten the time when the worker will enjoy a higher standard of living, and improved comfort in home life and happiness.”—*The Report of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers*, 1912.

It is the misfortune of the Londoner that he does not travel enough in his own country. Otherwise he might have visited various places in England which never figure on the railway posters as “Britain’s Beauty Spots,” or among those attractive, pictorially represented resorts which tempt the jaded townsman. His wanderings might in that case have perhaps led him to Wednesbury in the Black Country, to Wigan, to the Low Moor District in the West Riding of Yorkshire, to the Walker District of Newcastle-on-Tyne, to Hanley, to the Kirkdale area in Liverpool, to Middlesbrough, and to Saltley in Birmingham. He might even have visited that delectable place, Landore, near Swansea. He usually sees none of these. Possibly he knows little even about Silvertown and Canning Town, though they are at his very door.

Now, some inhabitants of these places do travel—maybe not often, but occasionally—and they naturally visit places which have claims to more picturesqueness

## 2 HOW POVERTY IS IMPRESSED

and attractiveness than their own. To them London is the Mecca. They come up from time to time in their thousands, by very cheap excursion trains and otherwise; they wander or drive round the City and the West End, and they see much of the opulence and glory that London offers to the eyes of every visitor. They go home impressed by what they have seen, and depressed by what they are going to see when they return and resume their drab, daily round. And then they read about it all in the papers, not on one day, but on every day. Take up any journal you like on any day of the week you like, and see how much of what appears refers, directly or indirectly, to wealth or to the possessors of it. Read the unconscious unctuousness with which ownership is extolled, and the greater glory which enhaloes the owners. These men from our poorer cities read glowing accounts of the displays of wealth, not necessarily ostentatious, but of everyday occurrence. They know it exists, for they have often caught a fleeting glimpse of it themselves, and in their ignorance interpreted ordinary everyday methods of life as vulgar show. They read of costly menus, and they know their own outlay on bread and dripping—if that—for their children. They see the pictures in the papers, which love, both from interest and inclination, to chronicle the doings of the financially famous. They even witness the actual portrayal of it all in the cinematograph shows which are springing up—indeed, have sprung up—in legions. People do not always rightly appreciate the influence of these two factors in moulding popular thought. As there are thousands who still believe that the veracity of the written word is always above suspicion, so there are an almost equally

large number who place unquestioning reliance on the accuracy of the photographic representation. These are the days of popular prices for entertainments idealising wealth or displaying it attractively; of free libraries, in which the daily press is much more studied than serious literary matter; of cheap travelling facilities. These, too, are the days when to alter our fiscal system the worker is vehemently and earnestly urged to believe that he fares so badly because of his adhesion to a certain school of economic thought. Perhaps he may hesitate about crediting the suggested reason, and about applying the remedy; but why should he disbelieve the fact, which is so much dinned into his ears, that he is doing badly, might do better, and ought to do well under altered conditions? He, at any rate, is ready to admit the truth of the premisses of the argument.

It is also the day of the man with a mission. Every one seems to have one.

Perhaps nothing is so common as a readiness to ascribe the unrest in the industrial world to “Socialist agitation,” a comfortable phrase which covers paucity of thought with what wrongly seems to most people felicity of expression. It is surely not only a misnomer, but an actual error. If any person will take the trouble to read the rather lengthy reports of the speeches at the great Labour gatherings which are held from time to time in this country he will find that running through every expression of dissatisfaction with things as they are is a clearly defined sentiment that what the working class want is a much better share of the world’s good things and a much greater equality of opportunity for acquiring them. The speaker does not, it is true,

#### 4 GENERAL FEELING OF DISCONTENT

always realise that if he achieved a due and adequate fulfilment of his latter wish the generation which is to follow, or maybe rather the one which will follow it, will have gone a very long way towards realising the former also. He only dimly apprehends the fact that any permanent and enduring change in the economic system must be the result of slow development of mentality and the evolution of a form of social environment which will be accepted by all as natural without forming an intellectual arena in which different schools of thought proceed to denounce each other with unexampled and unfortunate ferocity. But no one can ignore, even if he pretends to, the existence of a general feeling of discontent, not due, or due in very slight degree, to Socialist agitation—which is, of course, not really a cause at all, but a means of expression.

The great defect in the agitation over the causes of Labour unrest is the easy-going facility with which so many people drift into loosely emphasising the wider aspects of the struggle of the worker for better conditions than he now enjoys. The phrase-maker crystallises it as the struggle between the Haves and the Have-Nots, yet even the Syndicalist, who sublimely and intentionally ignores economics, never preaches the mere acquisition of wealth as the last word of ultimate happiness for the worker. Indeed, it is not unfair to him to say that his doctrine is the obtaining of the most enjoyment out of life, to which end, of course, the control of money or its equivalent is provisionally essential, but only provisionally, since in the well-ordered Syndicalist State money, as a means of barter, bargaining, or payment, will disappear.

The aspect of the present industrial unrest deserving

the closest examination is not its mere existence, but its particular forms of expression and the moment chosen to give effect to them. Its existence is natural enough. With the progress of education and the development of thought we have arrived at a stage when the child, who benefited by the Free Education Act of the seventies, is beginning to "feel his feet." The controllers and possessors of wealth nowadays certainly admit no more uneasiness than did their forefathers at the time of the Luddite and Chartist Riots, when unrest assumed a much more unpleasant form than now. Indeed, there are many, even among the highly educated classes, who welcome the unrest as a sign of national vitality—these cyclical upheavals indicate, after all, that there is much real and sound popular progression.

The moment chosen to give expression to the popular sentiment is fortunate for everybody. Trade was seldom so good; were it otherwise, the agitation might have swept the proletariat off its balance, for the stress of unemployment and the existence of semi-starvation unfit the community for making rapid changes, which are nearly always ill considered and often keenly to be regretted. There are, at the best, two fat years to come—June 1912–14—in which to prepare for the lean which are to follow, for follow they will. It may be difficult to explain why, but industrial development does move in cycles of alternating prosperity and relapse, and in 1912 it can be said that the wheel of fortune is carrying the country upwards—and getting very near the top, when it will turn.

It is with varying forms of Labour unrest that the student should concern himself. The feeling that

## 6 FAIRER TREATMENT DEMANDED

Labour is not receiving its due proportion of reward is general, although not every worker is so unintelligent as to think that by a few erratic industrial upheavals the fear of worse to follow will induce the Capitalist meekly to yield nearly his all to those who claim to make, and to have made, it for him. Nor do the majority of them consider that it would be of advantage to them if he did. They will be content with fairer treatment, but this they do demand. This does not mean expropriation, appropriation, or anything so alarming. It simply indicates a feeling that there should be some better division of the results of the joint carrying on of business. Most of the men prefer to obtain this by the so-called Collectivist movement, whose value is now so generally appreciated that its all-round adoption is only a matter of time, and may come to fruition by Parliamentary action. Opposition to it is crystallised in the expression, "We will not permit of any interference with our business by those not in our employ."

It is no part of this book to argue on the one side or the other, but the records of the different trades will show how collective bargaining between the masters and men is not only recognised but welcomed in the great producing industries, where wages rise or fall according to the value of the output and the state of the market, and how it is avoided as much as possible and disliked in the carrying trades, which have no standard of value, and in which wages can only vary if assessed according to the standard of living. There is no doubt this has risen, and it is a very good sign that it has; there is less certainty that the cost of living has advanced in equal proportion, although



## THE EFFECT OF THE GOLD OUTPUT 7

the phenomenal growth in the output of gold has undoubtedly affected the purchasing power of the sovereign, a fact which was noted after the opening of the Australian goldfields. As most people do not understand how this can be so, it should be pointed out that a large supply of gold always permits a corresponding increase of credit. The Bank of England, for instance, with an increased gold reserve, are enabled to extend their issue of notes. The most simple way of explaining the reason of this is to remember that gold is the only real standard of value existing amongst us at the present time. If a State having a gold standard can be imagined in which only one hundred golden coins exist, it follows that sellers of commodities must compete amongst themselves to supply the holders of those coins. If the number of such coins is increased to one thousand there is obviously more opportunity for the seller and an increase of competition among the purchasers, the result naturally being that prices rise.

It should not be forgotten, however, that a general increase in the price of commodities rarely affects the very poor. A rise in the price of coal influences every one, but other commodities purchased by the very poor are bought and sold on a system of which Government statistics give no record. Poor people buy what they can afford, and the tradesmen who supply them with foodstuffs buy, as far as is possible, articles of which there is at the time a glut, or which the wholesale dealer finds it is necessary for him to sell, and sell immediately. Fish and fruit are often sold from stalls and shops in poor localities at prices lower almost than the price of transportation, while the great Corporations which supply frozen meat, being forced

## 8 THE RISE IN THE WORKERS' WAGES

to sell the whole of the carcasses which they have imported, send the inferior portions to the poorer districts to be sold at ridiculously cheap figures, which, however, secure them a cash payment sufficient, with the better prices secured elsewhere for the better joints, to give a certain margin of profit on the entire trade. As an example of this tendency to cheapen cost in poor districts, it may be pointed out that sugar, a commodity in the price of which there has been a considerable rise of late years, is often sold at a figure lower than its value as quoted in the list of wholesale market rates. The quality is not good, but the trade is regulated upon the necessity of supplying always an article within reach of the limited means of the customer. If a woman has but one shilling or so a week to spend on groceries, a tea has to be made up at 10*d.* per lb., sugar has to be provided at 1½*d.* per lb., and currants and other things on a similar scale.

Nevertheless, while in certain cases the vendor has raised his prices, finding that the public has money with which to enter into competition to acquire his wares, it should be recollected that the wages of the workers have in most cases greatly risen, and the supply of the elementary necessities of life is vastly larger and proportionately cheaper than it was years ago. Any rise in the cost of living is due less to food than to rent, travelling, and the gradual transition of one-time luxuries into the category of necessities.

Industrial unrest cannot be treated as an isolated irresponsible manifestation; it is general, and it has come to stay, only it assumes specific forms according to its local conditions, and more particularly to its method of treatment by those who have the power to

influence it. Nothing can do more harm to the body politic than a policy of unreflecting and intractable hostility from above to the impulses and aspirations from below : you cannot with safety—and the truism is so apt that it barely needs apology—"sit on the safety valve." At the same time, nothing can do less harm to it than the policy of unreflecting and uncompromising hostility from below to the just claims and due recognition of the great directing and controlling influences in the business of the country, provided the latter realise that, with the development of thought and the advancement in the popular ideals of happiness and comfort, has come a greater and legitimate desire on the part of the worker for better all-round opportunities for both himself and his class.

This means no "civil war," no "blood running in the streets," no "fierce fighting between Capital and Labour," no "class war"—to use the catch-words of the demagogue. It means, it is true, rivalry, competition, bargaining, a keen effort to realise in tangible form the potentialities of what one may have to sell in brains or labour, but it is a warfare in which it is possible for each party to respect the other and to see that the other has sufficient scope to respect himself.

At the time of the coal strike of 1912, the Cleveland ironstone miners voted against it, but were, as affiliated to the rest of the workers in the industry, compelled to hand in their notices. They had no fault to find either with their wages or with their employers, with whom they had worked on terms of the greatest amity and mutual self-respect. They wished, however, to avoid what they felt to be a blow to themselves ; and accordingly, when the Joint Board directing the industry met,

the men's leader outlined the situation, and said the miners did not want the ignominy of having formally to hand in their notices in view of their present good relations. Might he tender the whole of the resignations verbally, and would the employers so accept them? The employers at once agreed, and the strike made no difference to their harmonious working.

This is not by any means an isolated case of pleasant inter-working among the masters and men. There are many such, where the great employers know how to treat with Labour, to understand its aspirations, and, so far as may be, to admit its reasonable claims, without standing on the utmost measure of their rights or exacting the last farthing of profit to swell already handsome returns. Unfortunately there are also many employers who do not see matters in this light, and this is why we are drifting towards Parliamentary intervention, always a dangerous experiment.

It is said that the workman is always ready to share profits, but never losses. There has never been enough testing of this theory to justify acceptance or rejection. But surely, even if it be true, he is never likely to be influenced to a different opinion by a purely negative policy. There are many industries where wages vary drastically according to the state of the market and the general condition of trade. It is to the advantage of the public to extend the principle of proportional interest with proportional benefits to all those engaged in an industry, always assuming at the start that the worker has enough to live on respectably and to encourage him to do his best.

This cannot be done with a cut-and-dried scheme for all. Each trade must adapt itself to its own condi-

tions, and for that reason there is much to be said in favour of some sort of compulsory organisation by industries, of both masters and men. Events seem so shaping themselves.

In any case recollect the "human factor." No agreements, however loyally and honestly entered into, no legislation, however wisely and cautiously drafted, will ever prevent strikes altogether, so long as human nature remains what it is. If any one believes that nowadays we are face to face with entirely new problems, they should remember that in 1872 the Trades Union Congress was discussing and recommending a form of industrial arbitration under Parliamentary sanction.

Man is a combative animal, and often, as a result of temperament, prefers a fight even when pacific methods would lead to the same end. Every one in touch with the working classes admits it, as do they themselves.

Agreements and legislation will lessen the frequency of strikes—that is admitted. But to expect absolute immunity would be to anticipate the Millennium. This will not yet come to pass.

CHARLES WATNEY.

JAMES A. LITTLE.

2, NORFOLK STREET, W.C.

*July 1912.*

## CHAPTER I

### THE HISTORY OF LABOUR ORGANISATION IN GREAT BRITAIN

THERE has probably never been a time in the history of this country when there has not been Labour agitation, but it is only within the last century that it has assumed any effective organised form. With a few exceptions, the historians of the past have never treated adequately this phase of national development. They have not been able to ignore it altogether, but they have as a rule misrepresented it, or failed to realise the fundamental grievances which underlay the most notable outbursts which have marked the national history of this country.

The rise of the Free Labourer about the middle half of the fourteenth century witnessed, as the late John Richard Green put it, "the entire detachment of the serf from actual dependence on the land." The abundance of hired labour which followed disappeared, owing to the devastations of the Black Death; the country was torn with riot and disorder, and Parliament stepped in and not only fixed the price of labour, but once more tied the labouring class to the soil.<sup>1</sup> With

<sup>1</sup> 1377-81; perhaps the first revelation in our history of the fight between Capital and Labour.

this system of forced labour, strikes and combinations became frequent among the lower workmen, and a revolt against the whole system of social inequality took the form of the Peasant Rising of 1381, in which the leading prototypes of the modern agitator were John Ball and Wat Tyler. The revolt was remorselessly suppressed, and it was not surprising that the social strife became accentuated. Still, social change was at work, and in the seventy years which followed this peasant rising serfdom died away naturally, until there came the John Cade rising, with a demand for the formal repeal of the "Statutes of Labourers" which had tied the people to the soil. These had never served any useful purpose, and had not even achieved their end; but their very existence was resented by the common people, and, although the Cade rising failed, the objectionable legislation was never again enforced.

From that time, with the development of trade, commerce, and manufactures, the working classes came gradually into a large measure of their own, acquiring a power which they vastly strengthened at the time of the Civil War. This they never really lost, for by the middle of the eighteenth century British agriculture was thriving, while the country already stood in the front rank of commercial States. It was then that the development of new processes of manufacture began profoundly to affect labour. It was then that the whole aspect of the iron trade was revolutionised as a result of smelting iron with coal. The principle of the steam engine was discovered in 1765, and in quick succession came the invention of the spinning jenny, the spinning machine, the "mule," and the power-loom. The development of trade was unprece-

## 14 THE EARLY VICTORIAN AGITATION

dented ; but the great wars soon changed the prosperity of the country. Factories came to a standstill because goods could not be exported or sold. Taxes imposed a crushing burden upon the people. There was a series of bad harvests, whose effects were intensified by the prohibition of the importation of foreign wheat until the commodity had reached what were practically famine prices. The revolts against the introduction of machinery, if unintelligent, were only natural. The first, in 1812, was easily suppressed ; but then came more serious rioting against the selfish conservatism of the ruling classes. The “Radical” first appeared in public life to demand radical reform. The methods of agitation chosen were often foolish, and the popular discontent might be crushed for the moment, but it was never suppressed, and at the accession of George IV its potentialities were rightly regarded as extremely ominous. The terrible agitation in the country produced the Reform Bill of 1832, though the poorer classes found their condition so little improved, and their aspirations so indifferently realised, that they put forward in 1839 their riotous demands for the “People’s Charter,” including some items which have now already become law or are about to do so—namely, vote by ballot, universal suffrage, annual Parliaments, equal electoral districts, the abolition of all property qualification for members, and the payment of M.P.’s. This was the so-called Chartist movement, which undoubtedly committed great excesses, notably at Birmingham and at Newport, in 1839, and which, by a gigantic demonstration, scared the Metropolis in 1848. It was in the seven years after 1839 that the great Anti-Corn Law agitation had been carried to a successful conclusion



with Sir Robert Peel's Bill establishing free trade in this commodity (1846).

The agitation for a farther extension of the franchise continued to grow, and, backed by very great sentiment, became irresistible. The Reform Bill of 1867 was passed, extending the borough franchise to all ratepayers as well as to £10 lodgers, while the county franchise was fixed at £12. With this measure the working-class elector appeared, and it was decided to co-ordinate the efforts of the various trade unions which had sprung into existence during the previous forty years, although as late as 1832 men had been transported for seven years for taking an oath of allegiance to a trade union. The object of co-ordination was to discuss various subjects which affected trade societies, and to influence any legislation on the lines which they favoured, and to prevent any which they might regard as hostile. At the first Congress, which was held in Birmingham in 1869, forty trades or associations were represented, and a number of papers were read of a type which nowadays would be styled academic. It was at the Congress next year in London that the agenda assumed its modern form, and it is worth while recapitulating this as an indication that many Labour problems which are now regarded somewhat as a novelty are really well over forty years old.

#### CONGRESS AGENDA

The following was the programme of subjects for discussion :

Trade Unions and Legislation.

Mines Regulation Bill: the Truck System and  
Weekly Payment of Wages.

## 16 ORGANISATION IN GREAT BRITAIN

Employment of Women and Children in Agriculture and Factories, and Wages.

Convict Labour *v.* Free Labour.

The Limitation of Apprentices.

Application of Arbitration and Conciliation in Trade Disputes.

Reduction of the Hours of Labour.

Co-operation and Industrial Partnerships.

Taxation, Imperial and Local.

Education, Primary and Technical.

Direct Representation of Labour in Parliament.

International Fraternisation of Labour.

War, Standing Armies, and their Injurious Effect on Industry.

Utilisation of Waste Lands and Unemployed Labour.

Emigration as affecting the Working Man.

The efforts of the Congress and organised labour at once bore fruit. Parliament in 1871 gave Trade Unions their charter of freedom by legalising combination, while in 1870 the Education Act had also been passed. From that day to this the movement has gone steadily forward, the next step being the appearance in Parliament of the Trade Union M.P., the first being Mr. Burt, who was elected for the Morpeth Division, and Mr. Alexander Macdonald, for one of the seats at Stafford, in 1874.<sup>1</sup> The still farther extension of the franchise in 1885 brought other Labour members of the older school into Parliament, but, for the most part, Trade Union action was concentrated outside, an important step in advance being taken in

<sup>1</sup> William Cobbett (1762-1835), sometimes classed as a Labour M.P., was the son of a small farmer and publican.

1899 by the formation of the General Federation of Trade Unions.<sup>1</sup>

The modern Labour Party, which is not Socialist, but influenced by Socialism, is a new growth. Coming into existence after the election of 1900, which produced a Unionist majority of 134, it was justified on the ground that strong organisation was necessary to secure adequate Labour representatives. In the intervening period of six years much hard work was done, and its record since then is as follows :

Election	Labour Members <sup>2</sup>		
February 1906	.	.	41 (mostly official Labour Party men)
„ 1910	.	.	40 „ „ „
January 1911	.	.	42 „ „ „

With adult suffrage Labour would probably soon have 100 representatives.

¶ The wheels of Parliament move slowly. Labour has not attained all its ideals, although it has made progress, and for this reason there have been in quite recent times a very large number of workers who have come to regard, or who have been led to regard, Parliamentary action as a very poor means of remedying labour grievances or realising labour aspirations. They have therefore decided to prefer “direct action,” which means concerted effort in the industrial world “whereby the workers may be enabled to decide the conditions under which production should be carried on.” The advocates of these tenets believe in political action, but have little confidence in Parliamentary

<sup>1</sup> 1880 Parliament, 3 Labour members; 1885, 10; 1886, 11; 1892, 10; 1895, 10; 1900, 12, comprising 9 Lib.-Labs., 1 Socialist, and 2 Nationalists.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Burt and Mr. Fenwick stand independently and are not included.

action ; and while, therefore, they welcome any assistance which may be afforded them by the Labour Party in the House, they do not count on it as an effective factor in the industrial campaign.)

To understand, however, the various fronts on which Labour is fighting, it is necessary to understand the exact position both of organised and unorganised effort. Let us take organised effort first.

The history of Labour Organisation in Great Britain is a composite record of three entirely distinct bodies, the oldest being the Trades Union Congress and its Parliamentary Committee, which came into existence in 1868 ; the General Federation of Trade Unions, which was founded in 1899 ; and the Labour Party, the youngest of all, which was established in 1900.

To understand their system of operation, it may be laid down as an admitted fact that there are too many main organisations. The tendency is, however, in the direction of fusion. The three bodies have recently *in principle* approved fusion or amalgamation of the three National Committees ; and it seems likely that at an early date the organisations will be all housed in one central building, that one annual conference instead of three will be held, and that to a great extent their operations will be merged. The chief drawback to the complete carrying into effect of any such scheme is the existence of vested interests, and therefore absolute and thorough amalgamation, however much it may be desired, is not at present likely.

The functions of the three organisations are, of course, interwoven, though not entirely similar. The Trades Union Congress came into existence coincidentally with, and really as a result of, the extension of the

franchise. Its functions are primarily educational and propagandist. Congress decides policy, and then elects a Parliamentary Committee of sixteen members to carry into effect the decisions arrived at, after discussion at the various annual conferences. It has no permanent programme. The policy which it recommends is suggested by the considerations of the day, and what is placed in the forefront in one year may be ousted from its position of importance by some even more urgent topic in the next. Its influence on legislation has been undoubted. Congress has done much to press on the attention of the various Governments legislation demanded by the workers, notably in the direction of the Factory Acts, the abolition of the Truck System, Employers' Liability for accidents, and the Fair Wage Clause in Government and Municipal work. It also claims the parentage of many other reforms which are customarily attributed in the main to the efforts of rival political parties; this is notably the case in regard to Old Age Pensions.

The General Federation of Trade Unions was really called into existence to provide the positive policy which to a certain extent the Congress, by its constitution, necessarily lacked. As outlined by its founders, "its dominant idea was a strong central organisation, gathering to itself all the scattered forces of the movement; unifying these, welding them into a well-ordered and definite army, capable of concerted movement, and backed by a gigantic central fund, the whole of which should be at the service of any society fighting to maintain its existence or to improve the lot of its members." It is true that it has an educational side to its work, that it is actively propagandist, that it

leads the way in the somewhat quieter campaign of promoting the closer organisation of industries. Indeed, the genuineness of its intentions in this direction is proved by the fact that it has become an Approved Society under the Insurance Act—a fact, by the way, which will not make fusion between the three bodies any easier. But after all, and admitting too, the advisory and mediatory side of its work, the fact remains that it is a great militant, aggressive organisation, and meant to be so. Its development is promoted to cope with the aggregation of employer organisations, and perhaps at the back of the mind of many of its members is a silent sympathy with Syndicalist ideals, only with a much better appreciation of the steps which must be taken to give effect to them. Thus, in the case of a strike which meets with its approval, the Federation can and does subscribe largely in support of the workers, and it can influence nearly the whole opinion of the trades-union world in their favour.

The birth of the Labour Party was due to the professed disavowance of both these two organisations from active politics. Obviously it was necessary to have some clearly defined organisation representing Labour—an organisation to which all the differing shades of advanced thought could belong, but which they could influence. This accounts for the peculiarly composite character of this body. With a membership of just over a million and a half at the beginning of 1911, it claimed the allegiance of 141 affiliated Trade Unions, 83 Trade Councils, 66 Labour Parties (of local character), the Independent Labour Party (founded in 1893 at Bradford, with Mr. Keir Hardie as its leading spirit), with a membership of 28,000, the

Fabian Society, with 3,400 members, the Women's Labour League, and the Tunbridge Wells Co-operative Society. These smaller bodies are mentioned to show the somewhat heterogeneous nature of Labour-Party support. The Labour Party, which has an executive consisting of thirteen members, nine representing the Trade Unions, one the Trade Councils and Labour Associations, and three the Socialists, is responsible for all political work inside and outside the House. Deriving its funds from the subscriptions of the affiliated societies, it endorses the Party candidates, issues the Party literature, and, in conjunction with the Trades Union Congress and the General Federation of Trade Unions, decides on policy. This is co-ordinated by the discussions and decisions of a Joint Board representing all three of them, a Board which is thus the medium of passing on all Labour legislation proposals to the Parliamentary Labour Party, which has then automatically to do its best to give effect to them. One word as to the choice of candidates. The Labour Party always maintains that it never puts forward candidates itself, or interferes with the free choice of the constituency. What it does is to ensure the *bona fides* of each suggested candidate, and that he is properly supported by some Labour organisation undertaking to provide or guarantee the necessary financial backing for the candidature. It is much easier to endorse suitable candidates than to find constituencies able and willing to support their candidatures. Thus the Labour Party, at any given moment, has a long list of "Approved Candidates," for all of whom, it is true, various organisations have assumed financial responsibility, but who have not been able,

## 22 POWER OF THE LARGER UNIONS

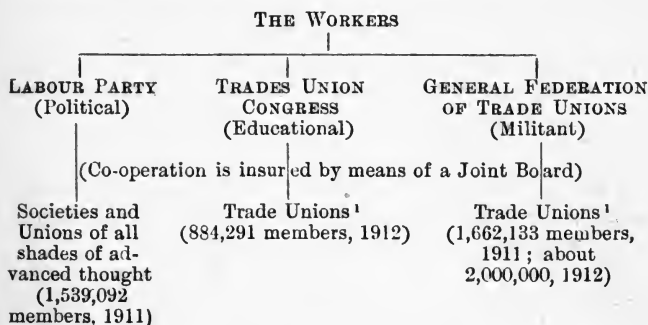
for the particular moment, to find a constituency to endorse them. With the advent of a General Election, however, and the quickening of political interest in the constituencies, these representatives would be easily placed. Thus, analysing at random a list of such approved candidates, one notices that the Carpenters and Joiners provide one candidate, and assume financial responsibility for him; that the Shipwrights' Association, the Dockers' Union, the National Union of Dock Labourers, the National Amalgamated Labourers' Union, the Co-operative Employees' Union, do the same, while the Independent Labour Party puts forward as many as fifteen, some of whom, however, are drawn from a class which one could not designate as distinctively artisan.

Thus Labour, in its unit of local union, which exists for sectional fighting purposes, and in its trade council, which is primarily intended for educational and deliberative work, has plenty of choice if it wishes to belong to the larger scheme of organised effort such as has already been outlined. It has no difficulty in that case of achieving its object. It can belong to each one or all, but it must pay a subscription to each, and its voting strength is regulated according to the size of its membership. This possibly explains why the more powerful unions dominate the larger organisations, although even these, from various reasons, not infrequently from internecine quarrels amongst themselves, prefer to adopt an independent attitude toward one or other of these controlling bodies. At the same time, it should be pointed out, to avoid misconception, that there are other Labour candidates who do not belong to the Labour Party, but whose views do not differ in



essentials from those held by that body, so that if elected they would probably co-operate with the members of that organisation, although presumably they would have a freer hand in dealing with topics which might come before the House. The tendency is, however, to eliminate independent men—it is even noticeable in the cases of Mr. Burt and Mr. Fenwick, who are strong enough to hold their own against all criticism.

Labour is thus represented :



Such, therefore, is the organisation ; what is Labour's chief line of action, so far as affects Parliamentary procedure ?

The political programme of the Labour Party in the House varies according to the needs of the day and the chances of realising it. In other words, it is frankly opportunist. It places in the forefront of its demands certain requirements on which its followers are insistent. It does its best to obtain them, but if it cannot, it will endeavour to secure something else which may be required with possibly less insistence. At the present

<sup>1</sup> Not necessarily, or in actual practice, the same.

## 24 MEASURES IN THE FOREFRONT

moment the chief items in the Labour programme are as follows :

### ADULT SUFFRAGE

The Government introduced in June 1912 a new Bill which goes far to satisfy Labour aspirations for the moment. It proposes :

Plural voting and property qualification to be abolished.

Right to vote to be based on residence or occupation.

Qualifying period in both cases, six months.

Qualifying age for all men, twenty-one years.

Registration to be conducted by the clerks of town or county councils.

No University seats.

Change of residence does not affect the vote : the voter retains it in one constituency until he acquires it in another.

The Government promised a Redistribution Bill in general terms, but gave no indication as to when they would introduce it. The Labour Party strongly demands redistribution of seats, and also the vote for all adult women.

### THE REVERSAL OF THE OSBORNE JUDGMENT

The Government introduced the Trade Unions (No. 2) Bill, which permits trade-union funds to be used for political purposes, provided its members, by a majority and on a ballot, agree to the course. The rights of the minority who may object are safeguarded by permitting them to exempt themselves on signing a form of notice. This does not completely satisfy the Trade Unions, who claim complete freedom to carry out "any lawful policy upon which the majority may decide." Half a legislative loaf is better, of course, than no bread at all.

## THE TAXATION OF UNEARNED INCREMENT

This being a Budget matter, no Bill can be introduced. The matter is, naturally, one to be pressed on the Chancellor of the Exchequer of the day. The primary object of Labour is to secure vastly larger funds for utilisation in the interests of the working classes. To a certain extent this "plank" in the political platform is connected with the

## RIGHT TO WORK BILL

The object of this Bill is to confer upon members of the working class, men and women, who are genuinely unemployed the legal right to claim from the State suitable work or maintenance sufficient to keep them and their dependants in a condition of physical efficiency. The essence of the principle is not new, since under the statute of 43 Elizabeth, c. 4, the authorities were ordered to make provision of work at wages for the unemployed, and were subject to a penalty clause for failure to do so. In clause 3 of this Bill the necessary machinery for the registration of unemployed persons is set up, and in clause 4 the responsibility of public authorities to provide employment is definitely set forth. Provisions are also included for the education and training of the unskilled and the detention and reclamation of the worthless who refuse suitable employment.

The Bill has been framed to deal with dislocation of employment in particular trades through the introduction of machinery, as well as unemployment due to fluctuations of trade through seasonable or other causes. The scheme of the Bill provides for the preparation in advance of undertakings of public utility upon which workmen could be employed at the ordinary conditions of wages, etc., which govern employment by the State, and thus avoid the necessity of providing temporary

## 26 THE NATIONALISATION CAMPAIGN

relief work during a period of bad trade. Unemployment is a permanent factor in industry, varying in degree from 3 per cent. when trade is good to over 20 per cent. in certain industries during trade depressions, and the Bill proposes to place upon the State the responsibility of guarding the unemployed workman against having to suffer privation from this cause.

There is, however, no likelihood of any Government agreeing to such a proposal, which is, it should be added, directly connected with the

### NATIONALISATION OF RAILWAYS AND CANALS BILL

The objects of this Bill are : 1. To confer upon the Board of Trade powers to acquire the ownership of railways and canals. 2. To confer upon the Board of Trade certain powers of user of the property so acquired and for leasing thereof. 3. To prevent the aforesaid property falling into private ownership again.

Other proposals for the nationalisation of public and semi-public utilities are also certain. The Mines will be the next to be taken in hand. As regards the Railways, the Government is temporising.<sup>1</sup>

There is no general Labour policy for dealing with industrial unrest, and Mr. Will Crooks's Bill for the Promotion of Conciliation was so vehemently denounced by his colleagues that it was dropped. Mr. Ramsay Macdonald's measure for making voluntary agreements between employers and workmen legally enforceable on the whole trade only referred to the Port of London (1912).

It should be recollected that Labour is taking an increased interest in matters which are not strictly

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Finney, the unsuccessful Labour candidate at Hanley, advocated land nationalisation.

regarded as coming in its immediate province. Thus it now interests itself closely in foreign policy and in constitutional issues which are considered to affect labour work and ideals. It is in regard to these that it makes common cause with the Liberal Party towards which its general attitude, while sympathetic, may be regarded as frankly selfish. If Labour felt itself strong enough to turn the Government out or to utilise the result thus attained it would not hesitate to do so. At present these two conditions are not fulfilled.

Parliamentary representation is, moreover, now largely dependent on efficient organisation in the constituencies, and in this respect Labour is notably deficient. This is principally due to the lack of sufficient funds, a defect which Liberalism, in recent time, has never experienced. It is, however, partly due to the notorious inability of working men to organise on a large scale, though this will be soon removed by growing experience, as has been the case in Germany, where the Social Democratic Party conducts political campaigning with machine-like precision and effectiveness. It should be recollected that politics under Adult Suffrage will be an even more costly pursuit than at present.

So much for organised effort; unorganised effort is nowadays for the most part styled Syndicalism.

## CHAPTER II

### THE RISE OF SYNDICALISM

“Syndicalism is simply playing at things ; it opens the door to the worst form of reaction.”—Mr. J. R. MACDONALD, M.P., Chairman of the Labour Party, at Bradford.

It is not quite fair to style, as most people do, unorganised, and to a certain extent irresponsible, Labour as Syndicalism. Syndicalism, which is derived from “Syndical,” the adjectival form of “Syndicat,” the French term for trade union, “Syndicat ouvrier,” is, as its name indicates, of foreign growth and origin. It signifies in the country of its inception, as well as in Great Britain, a particular form of activity whose immediate aim is to bring about Industrial Solidarity. It means, in the words of its chief advocates, that “in future the Trade Unions must exist for preparing to take over, own, and control the whole of industry. That, and that alone, must the Trade Unions live for in the future. In short, the Trade Unions must organise in order to provide the necessary machinery for the conduct of industry in the future State. This is what is meant by Syndicalism.”

✕ From this it will be seen that Syndicalism, although it attaches scant, if any, importance to Parliamentary action, presupposes perfect organisation among the workers. Hitherto the term “organised labour” has

been used principally as indicating the association for mutual purposes of the better-paid and more responsible artisans. Syndicalism is the gospel for the under-dog. In nearly every speech which Mr. Tom Mann, its chief exponent, makes to the workers he always appeals for support to the worst paid, who are not unnaturally ready to welcome, without much consideration as to the means for carrying it into effect, the pleasant doctrine of the overthrow of the capitalist and the acquisition of his wealth for the benefit of the workers.

This is to be achieved by a close imitation of the French system of Syndicalism as evolved by the Confédération Générale du Travail—the General Confederation of Labour—who “are bent on an international propaganda for the overthrow of the Capitalist system.” Their plan is to organise in the Unions and then build up a Federation of Unions in each industry; the next step is to form a General Confederation over all these industrial Unions. The General is really the supreme controlling authority, both as regards policy and finance. “Direct Action” is then employed—*i.e.* revolutionary industrial action within and upon the industries themselves.

Not only has the policy, but the procedure, been borrowed from the French. Thus we have among the avowed methods of Syndicalism :

Direct Action ;

Anti-Militarism (including Anti-Policeism) ;

Sabotage, or wilful destruction of machinery ;

The Irritation or “Pearl”<sup>1</sup> Strike (remaining at work and doing everything wrong) ;

<sup>1</sup> French, from “la grève perlée.” The idea is drawn from pearl barley.

Adjustment of the hours of labour to suit the men and the trade; no fixed maximum or minimum.

Anti-patriotism.

It was Mr. Guy Bowman who, with Mr. Tillett, met Mr. Tom Mann on his return from Australia in May 1910, and, so it is stated, suggested to him that he should become the evangelist of the new gospel, and Mr. Mann at once assented, although he was not at first impressed with the title, but accepted it because it would enable him to use the trade-union platform for propagating his views. Since then the movement has spread rapidly, though it is impossible to say how many followers it has, since it avoids formal lists of members.

Now, of course, it is not easy exactly to reproduce in this country an entirely corresponding system. It is easy enough to organise by industries—this is the aim and object of the transport workers—but the independence and the self-conscious pride of the better-type artisan are certain to stand in the way of the realisation of any proposal to place every worker, no matter his efficiency, his intellect, or his qualifications, on exactly the same plane, so far as regards common action, against the Capitalist employer, and if proof of that were needed it is afforded by the well-known disinclination to fusion in the railway world. Mr. Tom Mann has always been precise on the point, and he has laid down in one of his pamphlets the following definition of Industrial Solidarity, which perfectly defines this expression :

\* Immediately the unions in an industry weld themselves together they must forthwith proceed to organise all grades of workers in that industry. The handyman



and labourer must be treated as of equal importance to the highly skilled, seeing that he too is a factor in production. The exclusiveness of some of the existing unions must be got rid of. Henceforth we must proceed to organise on class lines, and not by trade or craft."

It is true that Mr. Mann sometimes endeavours to tone down the rather depreciatory attitude from which he regards the skilled workers, but his attempts are not very successful. After remarking "There must be no lowering of the standard of the skilled, but there must be a raising of the standard of the lower-paid man, the latter's position being made worthy of a man, while he must in future be counted as a man and a brother," he proceeds to remark: "The skilled men must throw off that silly notion of superiority which still characterises a number of them. All necessary classification by occupation will be properly attended to, but that unionism whose object is to maintain a special preserve for the privileged few must disappear, for it is incompatible with the rights of workmen generally, and is a menace to industrial solidarity, without which there can be no advance."

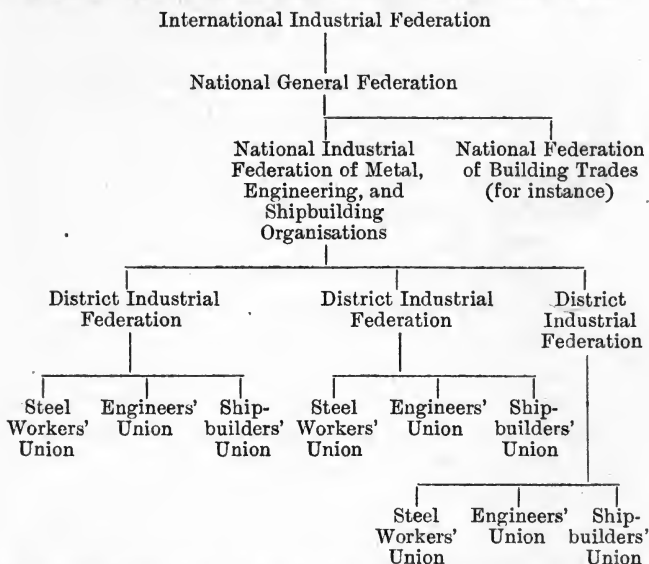
✕ It can hardly be encouraging for Mr. Mann to notice that at the Trades Union Congress, held at Newport in 1912, the only resolution put forward in favour of the amalgamation of Trade Unions by industries was proposed by one of the essentially unskilled labour groups, namely, the Operative Bricklayers. ✕ Moreover, where attempts have actually been made to carry out the idea, they have notably failed. The Railway World, as already stated, supplies the chief case in point.

Thus the Syndicalists proceed to construct the

## 32 GREAT SCHEME OF CO-OPERATION

organisation of all Labour according to the following scheme :

THE SYNDICALIST PLAN OF LABOUR ORGANISATION  
(*The Metal, Engineering, and Shipbuilding Trades are taken as a type*)



(The Local Trade Councils have primarily an educational object only.)

The scheme suggests international co-operation, not only between the National General Federations in the various countries, but between the respective National Industrial Federations.

There is thus no finality in the campaign of Syndicalism, though it puts forward in the first place the following concrete proposals :

A general reduction of working hours, so that as rapidly as labour-saving devices are applied working hours shall be reduced, and no unemployment allowed.

X *For a start*, an eight-hour day for workers generally, and a six-hour day for miners and chemical workers.

Wages system to be abolished, and the industry to be possessed by the workers. To this end, the working class must effectually extend their control over the tools of production until they force out the Capitalist.<sup>1</sup>

X Thus, to explain exactly the methods upon which the Syndicalists will work, it will be sufficient to point out that no concession either as to hours or wages will satisfy them. Having achieved one demand, they will promptly make another, until they arrive at the stage where economic production on the present lines is impossible. The Capitalists will see this and step out of business, and the workers will step in.

X Mr. Mann considers that the General Federation of Trade Unions is a fit and proper organisation to control this mighty movement. It has as yet shown sympathy, but no overt signs of acquiescence. Perhaps it has noticed that Syndicalism "is avowedly and clearly revolutionary in aim and method," benevolently regards "sabotage," rejects all working agreements with employers, and throws industrial working into chaos.

X It is, too, noteworthy that at the Trades Union Congress at Newport (1912) the Parliamentary Committee proposed the following resolution, which is a direct challenge to Syndicalism :

"That this Congress reaffirms its continued support of independent working-class political action in helping the industrial fight for a more equitable share of the

<sup>1</sup> "In the same way as the worker thinks it his right to vote for the election of Parliament or a Municipal Council, so must he acquire the right to elect the organisers of industry, viz. managers, foremen, and all others necessary for the successful conduct of wealth production" (Mr. A. G. Tufton).

## 34 FEW WELL-KNOWN SYNDICALISTS

wealth produced, and also declares for a larger share of representation, nationally and locally, in view of the continued centralisation of social and industrial questions in the hands of Government and other authorities."

The chief personalities in the movement are: Mr. Tom Mann, strike leader and agitator and ex-publican, born at Foleshill 1856; a superb speaker with an electrifying manner. He has had wide experience of foreign countries, notably of Australia, where he imbibed many of his advanced ideas; and he is extremely well-read. He served six weeks in gaol in 1912 for his connection with the appeal to soldiers not to do their duty at strike times. Mr. Guy Bowman, of Scottish-French parentage, is a journalist of middle age, a perfect linguist, who has much literary skill. In 1907 he was connected with the Twentieth Century Press, and translated Hervé's "My Country, Right or Wrong." He has been connected with the anti-militarist movement for years, and, as editor of the *Syndicalist*, went to gaol in 1912 for publishing in it the appeal above-mentioned. Both men have been expelled for agitation on the Continent.

Minor workers are Mr. Guy Aldred, a journalist who went to gaol in connection with the publication of the *Liberator*; "Captain" Tupper, a former non-commissioned officer and soldier of fortune, who has a following among the South Wales workers; and Mr. A. G. Tufton, Secretary of the Walthamstow Trades Council and a member of the Carpenters' and Joiners' Union.

There are few well-known Syndicalists, as all the best-known Labour men have abstained from overtly expressing sympathy with the movement. Even the extreme leaders of the Welsh miners are rather Trade Unionists than Syndicalists.

## CHAPTER III

### THE "ISMS" IN LABOUR UNREST

FOR the benefit of the unversed it may be as well to explain at this juncture the "isms" in the industrial-political movement:

*Socialism*, to use the accepted formula, seeks to abolish the present system of ownership, and to place the materials from which labour produces wealth, the means of production, distribution, and exchange, in the possession of the community as a whole. It employs Parliamentary action.

*Communism* is ownership by everybody or nobody; when men produce in common, what they produce belongs to any and all who care to use it. The Communist does not think it possible to measure the exact amount of any man's product, or to waste energy in attempting it, since there is enough and to spare for all.

*Collectivism* is ownership by the State. It expresses the economic basis of Socialism.

*Syndicalism* is ownership by group or section of the community; each trade under it possesses the ownership and control of its own resources. It depreciates Parliamentary action.

*Individualism* signifies that a man has a right to the full enjoyment of his own products, and should work for his own ends in social, religious, and political matters.

*Mutualism* is practically Syndicalism—a combination of the principle of Individualism with that of extensive co-operation of the workers. Under it there would be producing groups which would organise the work of their respective industries—thus eliminating the employer.

*Anarchism* is absolute individual liberty—a social theory which regards the union of order with the absence of all direct government of man by man as the political ideal.

*Trade Unionism* represents the practices or principles of organised bodies of workmen associated together for the promotion of their common industrial interests.

*Capitalism* is strictly the possession of capital; to the worker it is the system under which the possessors of capital control and regulate the wages and employment of the workers.

*Industrial Unionism.*—The organisation by trades of Labour which is willing to utilise Parliamentary action so far as it can be of value, but simultaneously prepares for the "Direct Action" or general strike of Syndicalism if it proves useless or inadequate.

This industrial unionism should be distinguished from the Australian use of the term. In the Dominion, except in New South Wales, Industrial Unions are not voluntary associations, but rather organisations necessary for the administration of the law. Industrial Unions (which are quite distinct from Trade Unions), or "organisations," as they are styled in the Commonwealth Arbitration Act, may be formed by both employers as well as employed.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE MINIMUM WAGE

THE whole tendency of modern Labour legislation has been in the direction of approving the principle of the minimum wage, though Parliament has carefully and purposely abstained from including in any measure any specific declaration of what that minimum should be. The reason is obvious. In the first place it is impossible to secure agreement on what the minimum should be, in the second it is undesirable in the interests of the workers themselves, and in the third it is impossible to enforce the acceptance throughout the country of any specific sum. All that Parliament, therefore, has done, where it has done anything, is to agree to the principle and leave the trades concerned to give effect to it. This has been the case on the three chief occasions, all in recent time, in which it has directly concerned itself with the matter. They are as follows:

In March 1909 the House of Commons passed the so-called Fair Wage resolution, under which a clause has to be inserted in all Government contracts providing that the rate of payment shall be according to the locally recognised scale. The Labour Party has never been satisfied with the system under which this clause

has been carried into effect by Government contractors, and as there are constant attempts to intensify its stringency the original text may be quoted:

"The contractor shall, under the penalty of a fine or otherwise, pay rates of wages and observe hours of labour not less favourable than those commonly recognised by employers and trade societies (or, in the absence of such recognised wages and hours, those which in practice prevail amongst good employers) in the trade in the district where the work is carried out. Where there are no such wages and hours recognised and prevailing in the district, those recognised or prevailing in the nearest district in which the general industrial circumstances are similar shall be adopted. Further, the conditions of employment generally accepted in the district in the trade concerned shall be taken into account in considering how far the terms of the Fair Wages Clauses are being observed. The contractor shall be prohibited from transferring or assigning, directly or indirectly, to any person or persons whatever, any portion of his contract without the written permission of the Department. Sub-letting, other than that which may be customary in the trade concerned, shall be prohibited. The contractor shall be responsible for the observance of the Fair Wages Clauses by the sub-contractor."

In practice it has been established that powerful Unions—such as the Boot and Shoe Operatives—can easily secure the observance of the clause: it is the weaker Unions which fail.

The object of the Trade Unions is to ensure that all work executed for the Government, whether directly or indirectly, shall be paid for at the local *trade-union* rates, and the working customs and conditions of the



district observed. At the same time, the unions prefer the principle of direct employment to the existing contracting system.

In 1909 (October) the House of Commons passed the Trade Boards Act. This provides for the establishment of Trade Boards for certain industries which are usually known as "sweated," and are as follows :

"1. Ready-made and wholesale bespoke tailoring and any other branch of tailoring in which the Board of Trade consider that the system of manufacture is generally similar to that prevailing in the wholesale trade.

"2. The making of boxes or parts thereof made wholly or partially of paper, cardboard, chip, or similar material.

"3. Machine-made lace and net finishing and mending or darning operations of lace-curtain finishing.

"4. Hammered and dollied or tommied chain-making."

The Board of Trade may make a Provisional Order applying this Act to any other, should it deem fit. It has not made any addition since the passing of the Act, which, by the establishment of Representative Boards, ensures the fixing of minimum rates of wages and makes it obligatory on all employers to pay them. It is, though, certain that the principles of this Act, which has many supporters, will be soon more extensively applied (*vide* Chapter XVII, *infra*).

In March 1912 the House passed the Coal Mines (Minimum Wage) Act. This provided for a minimum wage for workmen employed underground in coal mines, but left the rates to be fixed by joint District Boards.

In all these cases no figures were mentioned, and in

regard to the last named the Government expressly withstood strong pressure to insert them. This entailed the great "Five and Two" controversy (the suggested minimum day-rates, in shillings, for men and boys).

Even Labour differs as to the sum which should be regarded as a minimum wage—it is 30s. now in the boot trade, and the workers want 35s. It must necessarily vary according to locality, and employers contend that it must vary also according to the exigencies of particular businesses. Thus, those who can secure cheaply paid unskilled labour argue that it is not incumbent on them on economic grounds to pay better; to which the Labour answer is, that if any particular industry cannot guarantee its employees a wage on which a man can live and bring up a family respectably, it either ought (1) to cease to exist, (2) to be "run" on different lines, or (3) to be placed in the hands of the workers themselves. At the same time, it is perfectly true that, while Labour as a body has not vigorously put forward any specific figure for general acceptance, there is a strong and growing feeling in the direction of proposing 30s. as the minimum demand, and the Labour Party has, by formal even if academic resolution, at its Conference, January 1912, endorsed this figure, and twice, in vain, recommended it to acceptance by the House.<sup>1</sup> Its impossibility, however, of immediate realisation may be gauged from the fact that many millions of workmen still earn less than 25s. a week, and a very large proportion of these less than 21s. There is, however, a distinct tendency in favour of an

<sup>1</sup> Resolutions proposed at the Trades Union Congress (1912) at Newport urged the fixing, by legal enactment, of a minimum wage of 30s. per week of 48 hours.

upward movement in the payment of the lowest paid. This is noticeable in the official returns, the last report of the Labour Department of the Board of Trade, dealing with changes in rates of wages, 1910, showing an upward movement, with the result that the general level of wages at the end of that year was higher than at the end of any period of twelve months since 1893, with but two exceptions, 1907 and 1908. In 1911 the upward movement, owing to the general trade prosperity, continued, and this is likely to be the tendency so long as the general economic conditions remain unchanged.

Employers, too, are voluntarily showing a greater inclination to raise the wages of the underpaid, partly owing to their realisation that the rate of remuneration can only be justified on the grounds of grinding economic stringency, and partly also to the wish to avoid any extension of the general unrest among the victims, through their own shortcomings, of our present industrial system. It is, though, more than doubtful whether private impulses will ever really correspond to the growing determination of the workers to secure a greater share of the national wealth, and the feeling that this is the case undoubtedly explains the success of the Syndicalist movement, whose chief supporters are the underpaid.

An influence of importance is, too, being exercised by the Churches, which are now realising the call to them to intervene. As a result there is a distinct movement in favour of a "living wage"—virtually the "basic" or "standard" wage claimed by many workers as the lowest at which daily labour should be remunerated, it being left to the individual himself to do

as much better as he can by the exercise of his personal or organised efforts. Thus the Christian Social Union is conducting a campaign against under-payment, while there are many kindred societies working on the same lines. Thus the Fabian Society (1912) at its annual Conference passed one resolution in favour of the establishment, by legislation, of a national minimum standard of health, wages, and conditions of employment, and another declaring that in any determination of legal minimum wages the principle should be that of equal rates of pay for equal work irrespective of sex.

It is sometimes overlooked, but the establishment of a minimum wage must in the long run be contingent on the protection of the particular industry against the competition of similar articles from countries in which the earning capacity of the worker is not thus protected.

## CHAPTER V

### INTERNATIONAL WORKING

THE relations of British Trade Unionism with the similar movements in other countries are as yet not very close, and there is no prospect, for some time to come, of any manifestation save academic expressions of mutual sympathy. The one-day strike of the French miners as a tribute to the British coal strikers (1912) should be classed in this category. There is no likelihood of an international strike, although sympathetic movements amongst Labour in home and foreign ports are always natural, while it is at any moment within the bounds of possibility that a trade in one country may deem a strike in another a favourable opportunity for dealing a blow on its own account. This does not presuppose joint action arranged in advance.

Yet the tendency is in the direction of co-operation. There is, in the first place, the relationship between the various Labour Parties of the world. All of these, including our own, are affiliated to the International Socialist Bureau, which has its head-quarters at the Maison du Peuple, Brussels. Each is represented on the Executive of the Bureau, while the Secretary of the Labour Party in this country is ex-officio British Secretary to the International. The discussions at the main

## 44 INTERNAL QUARRELS OF LABOUR

meetings turn on policy and legislation. Special efforts are being made to interest trade-union sentiment in this country in the work of the Bureau.

The greatest potentialities for international action lie in the International Federation of National Federations of Trade Unions, whose chief stumbling-block in the direction of organised action is supplied by the conflicting operations of many of these bodies. Thus trade-union rivalries exist in several countries. In the United States the parent Labour Society, the "American Federation of Labour," is at war with the newer "Industrial Workers of the World," the latter a Syndicalist organisation (founded 1905), which with, as yet, a relatively small membership, contends that its rival is reactionary and sectional in its influence. This Industrial Workers' Union, however, was debarred from participating in the Seventh Conference of National Trade Union Centres—these are held every two years—at Budapest in 1910, while its competitor was admitted. In Germany the Catholic Miners' Union is often unable to see eye to eye with the other Trade Unionists; in Austria-Hungary the Austrian National Centre is at war with the Federation of Bohemian Unions. Even in Bulgaria there are Labour feuds.

On the other hand, the most militant organisation in the world, the *Confédération Générale du Travail* of France (the famous "C.G.T."), is affiliated to the International and profoundly influences its policy.

This International Organisation, with its head-quarters in Berlin, has affiliated to it about twenty so-called "National Centres," with a membership of over six millions. The "National Centre" in Great Britain is the General Federation of Trade Unions. The centres

thus represented are Great Britain, Germany, France, the Netherlands, Belgium, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Finland, Austria, Bosnia - Herzegovina, Hungary, Croatia, Roumania, Switzerland, Italy, Spain, and the United States. Bulgaria is the latest recruit.

Possibly in time the International will take some concerted action, but as yet the various Federations only express sympathy with each other's troubles and endeavour to influence action which may be regarded as prejudicing them. Thus in 1908 the British Federation denounced the Government for permitting the recruiting of "blackleg" labourers for strike-breaking in Sweden.<sup>1</sup> The following important resolution was, however, passed at Budapest in 1911 :

"The International Secretariat shall only take part in any appeal for monetary help if at the same time several trade or industrial federations of a country are engaged in industrial disputes, and if the necessary funds cannot be raised in this country alone or by the international trade federation to which the unions engaged in the struggle are affiliated."

Even now some of the federations assist each other, in strike times, with funds.

It should be pointed out that International Trade Union Congresses are not as yet held, partly, it would seem, because of a fear that they would endanger the International Socialist Congresses—started in London in 1864, lapsed 1873-89, and then revived to push an advanced Labour policy—and partly because inter-

<sup>1</sup> The nearest approach to practical International action was the attempt of Mr. Havelock Wilson to organise an International Transport Worker's Strike in 1911. It was only very partially successful.

national trade federations are not yet sufficiently in close working touch with each other.

Much the best-known men in this international work are: Mr. Samuel Gompers, President of the A. F. of L., who is well known in Great Britain, and is one of the best types of artisan representatives; Mr. Eugene V. Debs, who has twice stood as Socialist candidate for the Presidency of the U.S.A., and who is closely identified with Industrial Unionism; M. Gustave Hervé, the French politician, editor of the weekly *La Guerre Sociale*, who has been imprisoned for anti-patriotic articles; Mr. W. A. Appleton, the Secretary of the G.F.T.U., who was formerly Secretary of the Lacemakers' Society, and is a linguist and a strenuous worker; Mr. James O'Grady, once a furniture maker, and with a gift for organisation, now the Labour M.P. for East Leeds; Mr. Charles Legien, the Secretary of the I.F. of the N.F.T.U., a member of the German Reichstag, and a quiet, brilliant man, well able to handle detail. At their meetings some twenty-four to twenty-six men speak and act on behalf of millions of workers.

The chief Labour organisers in France are: M. Pierre Monatte, Editor of *La Bataille Syndicaliste*; M. Victor Griffeuves, Secretary of the Fédération des Cuirs et Peaux; M. Georges Yvetot, General Secretary of the Confédération Générale du Travail; M. Emile Pouget, ex-General Secretary of the Confédération Générale du Travail; M. Merrheim, Secretary of the Métallurgie Fédération; and M. Francis Delaisi, who is a leading writer on financial matters from the workers' standpoint.



## CHAPTER VI

### THE SITUATION IN THE RAILWAY WORLD

THE Railway Workers' industry disputes, by virtue of the dependence of other industries upon it, with the coal trade the right of being considered the principal industry of the country. Its effect upon the conduct of the business of the nation is incontestable, as without adequate distribution even coal is useless, so that the maintenance of the "open railroad" is therefore a question of paramount importance.

The last complete Government Returns affecting the capital and work in the British railways were published by the Board of Trade in 1910, and an abstract of these tables and those of 1900 and 1907 are worth giving, as furnishing certain comparisons which may lead to some understanding of the Labour unrest. (In general it may be true that statistics are misleading, but the figures relating to railway companies are, in a sense, usually of a more or less elementary character. They deal almost entirely with revenue produced from transport services and the simple division of that revenue under two heads, viz. expenditure in the execution of such services and profit. There are no confusing side issues as in other industries.)

	1900	1907	1910
Paid-up Capital of Railway Companies (including Loans and Debenture Stock) . . . .	£ 1,176,001,890	£ 1,294,065,662	£ 1,318,515,417
Amounts by which Capital has been nominally increased by conversion, con- solidation, or divi- sion of Stock, in- cluded in above .	186,868,704	195,877,572	197,123,888
Gross Receipts :			
From Passengers .	45,383,988	50,975,343	52,758,489
From Goods and Materials . . .	53,470,564 5,947,306	61,202,831 9,370,749	61,478,643 9,688,433
From Miscellaneous	104,801,858	121,548,923	123,925,565

A comparison of the gross receipts and the paid-up capital alone is sufficient to illustrate the unique position of railway companies in respect to earnings, for the total receipts—out of which all expenses had to be paid—during 1910 was but 1s. 10d. in the £ of paid-up capital.

✕ The expenditure and profits for the same three years were as follows :

	1900	1907	1910
	£	£	£
Expenditure . . . .	64,743,520	76,609,194	76,569,676
Profits . . . . .	40,058,338	44,939,729	47,355,889

XThe profit in 1910 is equal to 7s. 7½d. of each £1 of income, a similar proportion to that of 1900, and 2½d. per £1 more than was received in 1907. The amount of line open and the quantity of work carried out during the same years were as follows :

	1900	1907	1910
Length of line open, miles . . . . .	21,855	23,108	23,387
Total number of Passengers carried (exclusive of season-ticket holders) . . . . .	1,142,276,686	1,259,481,315	1,306,728,583
Passenger trains, miles . . . . .	220,016,587	262,554,301	266,851,217
Weight of Goods and Minerals in tons . . . . .	424,929,513	515,887,116	514,428,806
Goods and Minerals trains, miles . . . . .	180,048,724	164,374,855	154,555,559
Mixed trains, miles . . . . .	1,999,788	1,450,766	1,814,762

An examination of the above figures shows clearly the important fact that while in 1910 the number of miles covered by goods and mineral trains was roughly about 25 millions less than in 1900, the actual weight of goods and minerals carried was about 89 million tons more, while the income from such traffic showed an increase of £8,008,079.

This would appear to suggest that the policy of more economic management which has been enforced during the past few years, and the working arrangements entered into by certain companies in certain favourable districts, have proved effective, and in this effectiveness may be found the reason for some portion of the unrest of the railway world. Such economies as are indicated in the above figures undoubtedly mean

loss to the workmen in bulk, though individual members of a staff may find such alterations as have taken place beneficial to themselves.

It may be of advantage, in giving the point of view of the directors and shareholders, to show the rate per cent. of dividends distributed on fifteen of the most important lines for the latter half of 1911; owing to the coal strike the 1912 figures have little value.

Company	Gross Revenue	Net Revenue	Dividend per cent. per annum	Compared with 1910
	£	£		
London & North-Western	8,642,211	3,239,366	7 $\frac{3}{4}$	same
Midland . . . . .	6,775,835	4,071,710	7	same
Lancashire & Yorkshire . .	3,246,861	1,932,824	5	same
Great Northern . . . .	3,422,171	2,140,427	5 $\frac{3}{4}$	+ $\frac{1}{2}$
Great Eastern . . . . .	3,406,177	2,069,488	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	same
Great Central . . . . .	2,483,860	1,635,903	4 $\frac{1}{2}$ <sup>1</sup>	+ $\frac{1}{2}$ <sup>1</sup>
Great Western . . . . .	7,601,981	4,665,706	7 $\frac{1}{4}$	- $\frac{1}{4}$
London & South-Western	3,071,933	1,845,492	8	- $\frac{1}{4}$
North-Eastern . . . . .	5,600,059	3,494,341	7	same
South-Eastern . . . . .	1,747,497	1,004,991	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	+ $\frac{1}{2}$
London, Chatham & Dover	1,163,810	686,761	4 $\frac{1}{2}$ <sup>2</sup>	same
London, Brighton & South Coast . . . . .	1,925,084	1,032,083	8	+ $\frac{1}{4}$
North Staffordshire . . .	531,710	322,061	5	same
Metropolitan . . . . .	396,980	195,789	1 $\frac{3}{4}$	+ $\frac{1}{4}$
North London . . . . .	225,322	125,249	5	same
Total . . . . .	50,241,491	19,615,821	6 $\frac{3}{8}$ <sup>2</sup>	+ $\frac{1}{8}$ <sup>2</sup>

An analysis of the items of working expenditure shows that there has been a considerable increase in wages paid in respect to the workers employed by these different companies, amounting altogether to about £396,900—payment for wages being £13,038,700 in

<sup>1</sup>  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. per year on 1894 Preference.

<sup>2</sup> On Arbitration Preference.

the last six months of 1910, and £13,435,600 during the same period of 1911.

This would certainly indicate that efforts have been made to improve the position financially of railway workers, but it must be pointed out that in certain instances there was opportunity for such improvement, for in the case of the Great Eastern, the Great Northern, and the London and North-Western and the Midland, amongst the more important companies, the amount paid in wages during 1910 was considerably less than that paid during 1907, the year of the Railway Conciliation Boards Act. Here are the figures :

	1907	1910
	£	£
Great Eastern . . . . .	1,652,694	1,637,996
Great Northern . . . . .	1,638,493	1,633,558
London & North-Western . . . . .	4,190,414	4,145,103
Midland . . . . .	4,385,189	4,192,562

These reductions, even though individual salaries or wages may have been increased, give a certain indication of a reasonable discontent, for if individual salaries have been increased, it can only mean that a considerable number of men have been displaced.

It does not appear, therefore, that the Conciliation Boards have worked very much to the general advantage of the workman, while the fact that the railway companies find their receipts and profits almost, in a sense, stationary would suggest that the position is very much "as you were." It is true that the Conciliation Boards have effected, in some particulars,

Company  
wages  
increased  
profits

Trains  
paid  
Trade  
lost

## 52 EARNINGS OF RAILWAY WORKERS

slight improvements in wages paid, but generally speaking it must be admitted that the average throughout the country has altered very little indeed during the last decade.

According to the last published return, the average rate of wages paid to all railway workers throughout the United Kingdom, other than workers on electric railways, was 24*s.* 4*d.* per week for adults, and 11*s.* 3*d.* per week for boys; while the actual earnings (overtime, bonuses, etc.) were 26*s.* 8*d.* in the one instance, and 11*s.* 11*d.* in the other. The number of persons then employed on such railways was 365,901 adults, and 35,536 lads.

(The addition of persons employed, engineers, painters, etc., on work in connection with railway companies would bring this number up to nearly 700,000 altogether.)

Here are the wages paid to certain of the grades of both men and boys, together with their actual earnings, these including overtime and emoluments.

	Average Rates of Wages	Average Actual Earnings
Adult Workmen		
	<i>s.</i> <i>d.</i>	<i>s.</i> <i>d.</i>
Foremen . . . . .	33 11	35 9
Gangers (Permanent Way) . . . . .	23 7	25 11
Porters (Coaching and Traffic) :		
Six-day workers . . . . .	18 8	19 9
Other workers . . . . .	17 8	17 10
Porters (Goods) . . . . .	20 0	21 10
Checkers (Goods) . . . . .	24 0	26 9
Shunters . . . . .	23 9	25 7
Passenger Guards . . . . .	27 8	29 3
Goods Guards and Brakesmen . . . . .	28 2	31 2
Signalmen . . . . .	24 8	27 6
Engine Drivers . . . . .	40 0	45 11

# EARNINGS OF RAILWAY WORKERS 53

	Average Rates of Wages		Average Actual Earnings	
Adult Workmen (continued)				
Firemen . . . . .	23	9	27	5
Engine Cleaners . . . . .	17	8	20	2
Mechanics . . . . .	29	7	31	8
Platelayers and Packers . . . . .	19	5	21	2
Carmen and Draymen, one horse . . . . .	22	10	24	9
Labourers (Locomotive, Carriage, and Waggon Departments) . . . . .	20	0	21	9
Labourers (Permanent Way) . . . . .	20	0	21	8
Lads and Boys				
Engine Cleaners . . . . .	13	3	14	7
Porters (Coaching and Traffic):				
Six-day workers . . . . .	11	9	12	2
Other workers . . . . .	11	9	11	7
Van Guards and Dray Lads . . . . .	9	6	10	3

This would seem to indicate that there is ample reason for the workers demanding some monetary improvement in their position. On the electric railways, which, as they only employ a few thousand persons, do not materially affect the situation, the average rate of wages of adult workmen in 1907 was 29s. 6d., and of lads and boys 12s. 11d. To raise the workers on all railways to a similar average would entail a charge upon the companies of something like five millions per year, a sum which, in view of Mr. Asquith's statement in reply to a trades-union deputation on railway nationalisation, may be regarded as an impossible one.

What the Prime Minister said on May 20, 1912, to this deputation may be interesting as showing the comparatively small return which is made to shareholders in railways throughout the country, and how unreasonable it would be to expect them to make large

advances unless they were allowed greater freedom in trading—and any advance which has been suggested is, it is believed, far lower than those now being asked for generally in the revised schedules of railway workers.

Mr. Asquith said :

“ An enormous amount of capital has been subscribed and paid up—I am not going into the question of ‘ watering ’ and of capital unprofitably and perhaps needlessly expended—for the construction and development of the railways. Our paid-up capital for 1911, the latest year for which the returns are to hand, was £1,324,000,000. The gross receipts were 127½ millions, and the expenditure 78½ millions. The net receipts were, therefore, little more than 48½ millions. That brings out a net percentage return upon the greater capital of 3·66 per cent. If you go back five years, if you take the years from 1902 to 1907, you will find, I think, roughly, that the average percentage was about 3·44. So it is quite true to say, as one of the speakers did say, that 1911, as compared with the average of those years, showed an increase of 0·22. That percentage return of 3·66 is the highest figure obtained, certainly during the last ten years, but is not, of course, a very high return for a commercial undertaking.”

With Mr. Asquith's comments most people will be willing to agree ; and when it is mentioned that the railwaymen, in their schedules of demands, are, in addition to putting forward a demand for an increase which would practically raise their workers' wages to the average of workers on electric railways, asking for a reduction of working hours to forty-eight, some idea can be formed of the sum which the companies would, under the findings of the Royal Commission of last



winter, be entitled to recover from the public. At present the average number of hours worked per week, according to the Return of Railway Service of 1907, just issued, is fifty-eight. In the majority of the schedules now before the companies the men are asking for this number to be reduced to forty-eight. If the companies acceded to their request in this direction it would mean that 20 per cent. more men would be needed, which would entail a further charge, at the increased rates asked, of another £5,000,000 per year. The men's new schedules, therefore, would involve a tax on the companies, and through them on the public, of approximately £10,000,000 per year.

The above is a brief résumé of the position of the companies at the present time, and of the conditions of service of the men. Before entering upon any forecast as to possible happenings, either during the next few weeks or the next few years, it would be well to give something of the circumstances which led up to the condition of unrest which culminated in the strike of August 1912, and may find some further expression at any moment.

It was in the year 1906 that an agitation which had been proceeding in the ranks of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants, for some years past, came to a head, and, as the result of a special conference of this body held at Birmingham in November 1906, the following programme was drawn up for England and Wales :

### 1. HOURS

(a) That eight hours constitute the standard day for all men concerned in the movement of vehicles in traffic, viz. drivers, firemen, guards (goods and passengers),

shunters, and signalmen; also for motor-men, conductors, and gatemen on electric railways.

(b) That ten hours be the maximum working day for all other classes of railwaymen, excepting platelayers.

(c) That no man be called upon to book on more than once for one day's work.

## 2. REST

That no man be called out for duty with less than nine hours' rest.

## 3. OVERTIME

(a) That each day stand by itself.

(b) That a minimum of rate and a quarter be paid for all time worked over the standard hours.

## 4. SUNDAY DUTY

(a) That Sunday duty be regarded as distinct from the ordinary week's work.

(b) That a minimum of rate and a half be paid for all time worked between 12 midnight Saturday and 12 midnight Sunday.

(c) That Christmas Day and Good Friday be regarded as Sundays.

## 5. GUARANTEED WEEK

That, independent of Sunday duty, a week's wages be guaranteed to all men whose conditions of service compel them to devote their whole time to the companies.

## 6. WAGES

(a) That an immediate advance of 2*s.* per week be given to all grades of railwaymen who do not receive the eight-hour day.

(b) That all grades in the London district be paid a minimum of 3*s.* per week above the wages paid in country districts.

## 7. ONE MAN IN MOTOR-CAB

That the system of working with only one man in motor-cab be abolished on electric railways.

Mr. Richard Bell, who was then the Secretary of the Railway Servants, submitted this programme to the Railway Companies, with the request that they should negotiate its terms with himself and other representatives of the Union. The Companies declined to meet the men, with the result that a general railway strike was threatened, a ballot of the members of the A.S.R.S. resulting in 76,925 votes being given in favour of the strike and 8,773 against.

The possibility of a general strike created widespread alarm, and the Board of Trade eventually succeeded in opening negotiations between the Companies and the representatives of the Union. The result of these negotiations was the agreement of 1907.

This agreement, which marked a most important development in the relationship between Capital and Labour in this country, inasmuch as it was entered into at the express wish of the Government, provided for the formation of several Sectional Boards and one Central Board on each railway adopting the scheme, each Board being composed of representatives of the company and of the men. The Sectional Boards varied in number on each system from three to seven, each Sectional Board representing on one side the company and on the other a group of "grades" bearing some relation to each other in their work. The Central Boards consisted usually of two representatives of the employees from each Sectional Board and high officials of the Company.

The procedure usually followed was that the men put

their demand for improved conditions before the Companies either by petition or by means of deputation. Failing a satisfactory settlement, the points in dispute would be referred to the Sectional Boards, and, in the event of no settlement then being reached, to the Central Board. It often happened that the Central Board also failed to make a settlement, the result being that an independent arbitrator would be called in, whose duty it was to make an award.

It was over these arbitrators' awards that the trouble of 1911 arose. The arbitrators were usually distinguished lawyers, and as the questions with which they had to deal were of a most complicated and technical character, it is easy to see that considerable differences of opinion could arise as to the proper interpretation of the awards made. That this was so was unfortunately true, and this fact was the cause of a considerable amount of friction. Under the provisions of the scheme of 1907 an arbitrator could not be asked to give his interpretation of any vexed point in his award unless the request came both from the Company's and the men's representatives on the Central Board. The men allege that in several instances the Companies have refused to join with them in requesting particular interpretations, the result being that for an undue period, they maintain, many of their members were deprived of advances which the arbitrators had declared were due to them.

Under such circumstances it is not to be wondered that the conciliation scheme was more or less a failure. It certainly did not tend to lessen discontent, and, in fact, may be said to have added to it. The men's leaders were, by means of the Central Boards, brought

more closely into touch with the financial position of the Companies, and could not fail to see that it was practically a matter of financial impossibility for the Companies to concede all that was asked. Indeed, Mr. Richard Bell, under whose secretaryship the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants had flourished exceedingly, quite early realised what a tangled skein it was which he had set himself to unravel, and it must have been with a considerable feeling of relief that he gave up his position to take an appointment in the Labour Exchanges at the beginning of 1910.

Meanwhile, discontent in the railway world grew apace. The men alleged that the working arrangements entered into by the Companies acted greatly to their disadvantage, and that conditions of employment had not improved during the past twenty years. They maintained then, as they do now, that promotion is more rare than it should be and that there is a growing tendency amongst the Companies not to fill by promotion positions which have been vacated by the death or retirement of those who previously held them.

The Transport Workers' Strike of August 1911 found the railwaymen, therefore, ready for any trouble which presented itself. Almost before the officials of the men's society realised it, railwaymen throughout the Liverpool area had joined the strikers, and the Executive of the Amalgamated Society practically only ordered a strike—in which, by the way, they were acting against the constitution of their own society and against the agreement of 1907—when the strike was already in being.

The hurried intervention of the Government and a tardy acceptance of a Royal Commission called a

"halt" to the strike. This Royal Commission prepared an amended scheme of Conciliation Boards of a new character, to take effect on July 1, 1912. Under this scheme Sectional Boards only are provided for, the Central Board being abolished; and the men are allowed to appoint secretaries to such Boards, this privilege previously having been limited to the Companies. In many respects the procedure to be followed is similar to that laid down by the scheme of 1907—all grievances or questions affecting the contractual relations between the company and its employees having to be brought forward by means of petition and deputation. Any grade or combination of grades having a common interest can petition a company, providing the petition is signed by 25 per cent. of the workers in that grade or grades, and the company shall receive a deputation concerning the petition, and shall give a reply to such deputation within twenty-eight days. Failing a settlement, the Sectional Board within whose province the particular grievance and group of men concerned falls shall be called together to consider the question, fourteen days' notice being necessary for this step. If an agreement is not reached at the first meeting of this Sectional Board, it is open to either side to adjourn the meeting and the discussion of the question for fourteen days. If even at the "adjourned" meeting a settlement is not reached, the independent chairman is called in to preside over a further meeting, and, if the parties cannot be reconciled, to give a decision on the vexed question.

Settlements reached by agreement without reference to the chairman are binding for twelve months; but a chairman's decision is binding on both parties for

at least two years, though always settlements may be varied at any time by mutual consent.

The present scheme apparently provides for obviating the former difficulty which occurred with respect to the question of interpretation of settlements or awards. The secretary on either side can, if he thinks fit, bring such questions of interpretation before the Board for their decision; and should the Board fail to agree, an adjourned meeting shall be held at which the chairman shall be present, at which such chairman shall be entitled to give a final decision, providing that agreement is not reached without his intervention.

The present scheme only remains in operation until November 6, 1914, though it may be continued longer, failing notice by the Companies or the workmen that they desire to discontinue it. At least twelve months' notice must be given, the earliest date for giving the same being November 6, 1913.

Following the presentation of the Royal Commission's Report the men's local officials and representatives drew up new schedules as to rates of pay and conditions of labour for consideration by the Companies. These were submitted during the spring of 1912, and during the summer the Companies received deputations from their employees in accordance with the recommendations of the Commission. The demands of the men were so extravagant—in the case of the Midland Railway an increased charge of £1,400,000 would have been entailed if the reduction of hours and increase of wages asked for had been granted—that it was found impossible for the Companies to accept them, and, accordingly, the Conciliation Boards, of which there are nearly two hundred, came into operation. These Boards

do not sit in August or September. In a few cases agreement was reached with particular grades without having recourse to an arbitrator, but this affected chiefly the higher-paid men. Judge Austin was called in to decide upon certain questions concerning the Great Western Company's relations with their employees, and his award undoubtedly favoured the latter.

Nearly all the schedules were based on the 1906 programme, save that the demands in respect of wages were generally higher than were those then formulated. In certain cases the minimum asked for in any grade was fixed as high as 27*s.*, while in some other instances 30*s.* was put forward as the lowest weekly wage which should be paid. It must be remembered that these demands were simply advanced as a basis on which to start discussion, and in any case it is most improbable that there will be any attempt at forcing a railway strike for the sake of securing the full terms of such schedules.

By accepting the Commission's Report, the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants rendered a strike impossible, as by their acceptance they bound themselves to assist in the working of the new Conciliation Scheme, and to abide by the decisions of these Sectional Boards or the chairmen. It is true that there may be some attempt, if the result of the new scheme is not altogether satisfactory, to force extreme action; but it may be considered unlikely that such attempts will be successful. The most disaffected areas in the railway world are at and around Hull, Swansea, Manchester, Liverpool, Sheffield, Leeds, and, in a lesser degree, at Doncaster. Amongst certain sections of the London men also there has been some unrest during the close of 1911 and the beginning of 1912,



*having*  
In this latter case opportunity was afforded of showing how strong was the hold of the Amalgamated Society's Executive upon their London members at the outbreak of the second strike of the transport workers of the metropolis. Many of the disaffected section wished to make common cause with the dockers and carmen and other strikers, but their Executive flatly refused to take any part in the dispute, and appear to have had no difficulty in controlling their men.

Some interest has been focused upon a dispute arising out of the strike of August 1911, between the management of the Central London Railway and a certain section of their employees who, it is alleged, have been victimised for their conduct during this strike; but the members of the various Railwaymen's Unions appear to be at variance with respect to the merits of this trouble, and, in spite of a big demonstration held on June 2, 1912, it is unlikely that any serious steps will be taken.

Similarly a small dispute which arose on the Metropolitan Railway may spread and cause trouble later. The men allege that five prominent Trade Unionists amongst the employees of that company were discharged early in 1912 because, it is asserted, of the leading part they had played as Trade Unionists in recent disputes. The company, however, maintain that the men in question were discharged from motives of ordinary economy, and they refuse to admit the right of the Railway Workers' Union—the men's union which is interesting itself in the matter—to intervene in the matter at all. Chiefly this dispute centres around a brake-fitter named Remfry who was discharged. This discharge is being cited as a case of victimisation, and

it is pointed out that as Remfry was working solely in connection with the running department, his case should have come up for consideration by the Conciliation Board.

The officials of the Railway Workers' Union assert that the company, on this point being mentioned to them, got out of the difficulty by setting the man to work in one of the shops at a bench for two or three days, thus making his duties what are termed "mixed work," which would prevent his case being considered by the Board. The company, for their part, maintain that this is wrong, and that the man in question was discharged solely from motives of economy, while it is not denied by the men's leaders themselves that this man's presence on the company has been the source of a certain amount of trouble in the past. Assuming that this grievance on the Metropolitan should grow to a strike, it would be merely a sectional disturbance.

There have been many proposals made lately for the federation and amalgamation of all transport workers. It has been suggested that :

(1) The various unions containing railway workers amalgamate.

(2) All railway workers amalgamate with the Transport Workers' Federation.

Both of these suggestions contain possibilities of far more active expressions of Labour unrest and discontent than are at present possible. It is interesting to learn, therefore, that there is little prospect of either suggestion being adopted. The unions chiefly concerned under the first proposal are the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants, the Associated Society of Loco-

## RAILWAYMEN—TRANSPORT WORKERS 65

motive Enginemmen and Firemen, the United Pointsmen and Signalmen's Society, and the General Union of Railway Workers. The first of these has a membership of about 120,000, and funds for trade purposes, which amounted to £435,000 at the end of 1911—that is, before the coal strike, which taxed the benefit funds of the A.S.R.S. very heavily. Prior to August 1911 the membership of the Amalgamated Society was only about 73,000; but even so it had a far greater number of members than the other three societies have at the present time. By their action at one of their triennial meetings the Society of Locomotive Enginemmen and Firemen rendered it impossible for their society to consider any proposals of amalgamation for some time to come, and this policy has, during 1912, been substantially approved at a Conference; but a ballot of the General Railway Workers—whose membership now is generally supposed to be about 25,000, some of these members belonging also to the A.S.R.S.—has decided generally in favour of such amalgamation. It is very unlikely, however, that the Executive of the Amalgamated Society will, notwithstanding that their members also have voted for union, decide on an amalgamation with societies so inferior, both numerically and financially, to themselves.

Similarly there is not the least intention on the part of the Executive of the Amalgamated Society to consider favourably any suggestion of amalgamation with the Transport Workers' Federation, the view apparently being that they would bring everything to such a union and would get nothing in return. The only possibility of effective action, therefore, lies with the Amalgamated Society, and they are practically bound by their leaders'

subscription to the latest scheme of Conciliation not to allow a strike.

None the less, there is a considerable amount of unrest and discontent amongst railway workers generally, though it is difficult to see at present how it can express itself in militant action.

X The only possibility of serious trouble is if the extreme section of the Amalgamated Society—and there is a considerable sprinkling of Syndicalists amongst this section—succeed in obtaining sufficient support to enable them, upon some question of important policy, to force their wishes upon the present Executive. X It is only fair to say that the Executive are quite alive to this possibility, and are taking all precautions to safeguard the more sober and responsible interests of their society.

There is one point connected with the railway Labour troubles which should not be left out of consideration in connection with the demand of the workers for increased wages and better conditions. Assuming, as is certain, that the railway companies have to make a heavier outlay on wages, they will undoubtedly attempt to recoup themselves, in part at least, in other directions. In the first place, they have already increased the fares for specialised services, such as excursion rates and terms for business men. In the second, they secured a promise from the Government at the time of the Conciliation Settlement that they would be allowed increased rates if it could be shown that increased expenditure was due to the cost of improved labour conditions. The Government accordingly introduced the Railways Bill to give effect to this promise, but it has met with very strong opposition from the trading

classes, who considered that it threw on them far too great burdens in the direction of establishing successful opposition to any demand for increased rates. There is, moreover, a widespread feeling that the methods of many railway companies are antiquated, and the boards of directors not sufficiently in touch with modern requirements, and that before they so increase rates the general working of many lines should be overhauled. Indeed, the railway companies have commenced a policy of reform—which may later on excite much criticism—by drastically reducing their train services, basing their action on the lessons of the coal strike, which taught them, so they claim, that many trains were unnecessary. This has caused a reduction in the amount of labour employed, as well as a diminution in the facilities enjoyed by the travelling public. It is, moreover, suggested in some railway circles that further economies may be necessary in the wholesale curtailment of the porter class, thus compelling passengers, as on certain lines in America, to rely on their own efforts for the transportation of their baggage, or, alternately, themselves to pay casual attendants who may be willing to undertake this work. The point is worth keeping in mind, inasmuch as the reduction in the quantity of labour employed has always the effect of promoting unrest in the Labour World.

#### PERSONALITIES

##### *For the Companies*

In nearly every case the General Managers of the Companies are the dominant factors in every general railway dispute—with one exception, the Great Eastern

Railway Company, where the chairman, Lord Claud Hamilton, M.P. for South Kensington, is supreme. His strong and uncompromising policy is considered retrograde by practically all the Trades Unionists, but his sterling honesty and sense of honour are unquestioned and universally respected.

Among the General Managers, Sir Sam Fay, of the Great Central (appointed 1902), is regarded, since the retirement of Sir Charles Owens from the London and South-Western, as by far the ablest and at the same time the most popular man. Originally a goods guard, he has worked his way through all the grades until, at the age of fifty-six, he finds himself the exponent of the most progressive railway policy followed by any company.

Sir Guy Granet, the General Manager of the Midland (appointed 1906), who was born in 1867, and is an old Rugby and Balliol man, has always been more or less identified with the line he now controls. He was knighted in 1911. He possesses a very strong personality—too strong for some Trade Unionists—but he is generally esteemed by those who come in contact with him.

The other General Managers are less well known. Mr. H. A. Walker, of the L. and S.-W., who went from the L. and N.-W. to replace Sir Charles Owens, is having a difficult task: Unionism has increased on his line since he took office from 10 per cent. to about 70 per cent. of the total number of employees. Mr. Oliver Bury, General Manager of the Great Northern Railway since 1902, has had a wide South American railway experience, and is a North Countryman of pronounced views and much firmness of character. Mr. G. Potter, of the Great Western, has been on the line during all

his career, and comes late in life to the General Managership. He is much liked. Mr. Frank Ree, now General Manager of the L. and N.-W. Railway (since 1909), has also been in the employment of the company all his life, but latterly has not taken so important a part as formerly in collective railway bargaining.

It should be stated that there is an association entitled the Railway Companies' Association, with its head-quarters at 53, Parliament Street, S.W., which represents in many matters the interests of the Companies.

### *For the Employees*

Mr. J. H. Thomas, who is only thirty-eight, and the youngest Labour M.P., was engine cleaner, fireman, and driver on the Great Western. At one time he was offered an official position under the company, which has a very high opinion of his capabilities. During a number of years he was a Town Councillor at Swindon, chairman of the Finance and Law Committee, and of the Tramways and Electricity Committee. He has occupied every position in connection with the A.S.R.S., as its Financial Secretary, its General Organiser in South Wales, and its President. Ultimately he became M.P. for Derby, in succession to Mr. Richard Bell, M.P. (1900), and he still sits for it, while he remains Assistant Secretary of the A.S.R.S. He is an ardent teetotaler.

Mr. J. E. Williams, the Secretary of A.S.R.S., was a guard in the employ of the Great Western, and thirty years ago was the victim of an accident, losing one leg and most of one hand. Subsequently he was employed as signalman, becoming also Branch Secretary of Pontypool for eighteen years. Ultimately he became

Assistant Secretary, and then, on Mr. Bell's retirement, General Secretary.

Mr. Walter Hudson, M.P., is an ex-guard, sixty years of age, who was eight times President of the Congress of the A.S.R.S. He is very popular.

Mr. G. J. Wardle, M.P., was a clerk on the Midland. A good writer, he is the editor of the *Railway Review*, and is forty-seven years old.

Mr. A. Bellamy, President of the A.S.R.S., is at the present time an engine driver on the London and North-Western Railway, and is stationed at Stockport, for which he is a J.P. He is forty-six years old.

Mr. Albert Fox, the Secretary of the Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen, was an engine driver on the Great Central, and reached his present position after being Assistant Secretary. His society numbers about 22,000. He is about fifty-four.

Mr. Thomas Lowth, the General Secretary of the General Railway Workers' Union, is about fifty-six years of age, and was formerly a goods worker on the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway.

Mr. Sam Chorlton, the Secretary of the United Pointsmen and Signalmen's Society, was formerly a signalman. His society numbers about 4,000.

Mr. J. Birmingham, the Organising Secretary of the General Railway Workers' Union in the South of England, is an Irishman of fine physique and a good speaker, forty-one years of age. Originally a railway clerk at Manchester, he joined the Union at the age of twenty-nine. He claims to have brought every one save six out on strike in the Manchester district in the railway troubles of August 1911.



## CHAPTER VII

### THE SITUATION IN THE TRANSPORT WORLD

THE development of towns has added considerably to the problems of life, and in no direction more so than in the matter of the distribution of food supplies. The chief articles of food consumed by the residents in great cities such as London are brought to centralised depots or great distributing stores. In their passage to or from such depots or stores the services are utilised of what is known now as the Transport Trade. Our dependence upon the perfect working of the means of transport provided by this section for the maintenance of a proper supply of food renders the transport trade one of the most, if not the most, important in the community, and it is highly necessary that the smooth and easy working of this trade be maintained.

Until two years ago we could certainly say that such was the case in Great Britain, as, since the great London dock strike of 1889, there had not been any serious disturbance amongst transport workers. The conditions of employment amongst these workers, however, and the fact that the greater proportion of the labour engaged was unskilled or casual labour, were always factors of potential trouble, and in 1910 a movement was started which was to culminate in the great dis-

location of trade which the summer of 1911 witnessed, and the further strike of transport workers in 1912. On each occasion men employed at river-side ports and engaged in river-side work were the first to take action, and, owing to the close connection between direct port workers and other sections of the trade, the trouble, as was inevitable, spread.

There is only one way in which the work of transport and its connection with port and river-side work can really be understood. We must imagine a vessel brought to England, discharged, and loaded, and sent away again.

Let us assume that the vessel is one of the big boats of the British Indian Company which trades to and from the Port of London. Before entering the Thames she takes on board her Thames pilot, whose duty it is to navigate her up the river as far as the Albert Docks. Outside the docks the Thames pilot is replaced by a dock pilot, and, slowly drawn by a panting tug, the British Indian vessel crawls towards the dock gates. The lock gatemen at their post swing open the gates, and the boat from the East slides into its place of rest. Bridgemen quietly turn their bridges so as to give passage, and finally the vessel lies still on the south side of the dock.

The quietude of her last movements is in strong contrast to what follows. At once the gearers spring forward and commence the work of "rigging" stages, gins, falls, etc. ; the hatches are got off, and the delivery gang line up for their rush of work. At every hold is a tallyman or ship's clerk (as they term themselves to-day), whose duty it is to keep check of everything which is taken from his hold, and very soon the task of unloading the goods is in full swing.

The boat carries passengers also, so there is a baggage gang in waiting as well as the delivery gang. The baggage men are not dockers, but men who constitute the lowest form of labour in the transport world. They take the baggage of the passengers and carry it to the train or hotel required, and having no recognised rate of pay, depend upon the generosity of travellers. In short, they are the unattached porters of the docks, and their labour is the most casual of any.

The delivery gang are men of a different stamp; they are dockers pure and simple. Short, sturdy men, generally born and bred in the East End—the man who drifts to dockland is rarely a regular docker—they handle and carry parcels and packages of varying descriptions and weight with astonishing ease. Swiftly the vessel's cargo is moved from the holds to the quay or the sheds, and here the work of the docker makes its connection with the transport workers of the outside world.

Some of the goods, destined for places within the range of one or other of the forms of road traction, are packed into carts, and the carmen so take their places as a link in the great transport chain. Other bales or parcels make the next stage of their journey on one or other of the goods trains which are waiting hard by, and the docker thus rubs his shoulder against that of the railway worker. The river claims the right of carrying the rest of the ship's cargo, and accordingly the lighters lying off the quay are filled with the goods to be borne up and down the Thames.

The big ship is now empty, and as idleness is unprofitable with ships, as with human beings, she is rapidly prepared for another cargo, with which she shall start

on her further challenge to the waters. She may require cleaning, in which case she is moved to the dry dock, but usually she would be taken from the south to the north side of the dock. During this short journey she would not be handled by her crew, but by a gang of men known as the transport gang.

The engine-room staff is, of course, the same, but the transport gang provides the deck hands, and, with the dock pilot on the bridge, these "dock" sailors take the ship across to the spot where she will receive cargo.

Now commences the more skilled work of the docker—the work of loading. In the Port of London this is practically always given to the "stevedores," who, along the Thames-side, are always distinct from the docker, who usually only discharges cargo. The stevedore is a more highly paid man than the docker, and his work, and even the work of the tallyman engaged to superintend loading, demands far more care than the supervision of the mere emptying of the ship.

As before, a tallyman takes up his position at each hold, and carefully, but quickly, the loading begins. It is the tallyman's duty to see that everything is stowed in the right place, so that goods which are to be discharged at each port of call can be easily reached in their right order, and he has to supervise the packing of the hold so that the utmost of the space is properly utilised. And all the time as the cargo is placed in position he is checking and entering the various items in a book, each with its distinguishing number or mark recorded against it, and as the stevedores work so the carpenter follows up behind, wedging and fixing the

mixed collections of bales and boxes so that they shall remain firm in the rougher weather.

Considerable intelligence is demanded in proper loading. Certain chemicals are of an explosive nature, and when possible such chemicals are placed between cases of chalk or cement. In fact, there are a hundred-and-one things which require quick attention, and it is not surprising that men who are known as good tally-men find the demand for their services very regular.

During the dinner hour a big part of the coaling of the ship is done. The moment the stevedores cease their rushing to and fro the boat is pushed off from the quay-side and a line of low barges creeps up to slip along each side of the vessel.

No time is to be lost, and so both "Long Mike" and the "winch" coalies are at work, the vessel being coaled from both sides at once. "Long Mike" is a floating crane, and, with ten men to help him, works so fast that, inside an hour, a ship can be pushed off the quay-side, three barges, each holding 100 tons of coal, put into position, this 300 tons of coal shifted into the bunkers by the aid of "Long Mike," the barges removed, and the ship got back to the quay-side in time for the stevedores to resume their work after their meal.

The cooks and stewards carry on provisions for the voyage, the stevedores finish their work and put on the hatches, but do not batten them down, and the boat is ready to start again. The dock pilot takes her out of the dock, the bridgeman and the lockman each playing their part as before. The Thames pilot takes charge and takes her out to the open sea, and she ceases to have any interest for the port workers until such time as she shall return.

## 76 TRANSPORT WORKERS' FEDERATION

It has been pointed out that the stevedores, though putting on the hatches, do not batten them down. That is the work of the sailor, and this fact serves to show how jealously the question of demarcation of duties is regarded, and how easy it is to cause friction amongst dock workers. It sometimes happens that a captain of a vessel will ask the contractor or master stevedore to batten down the hatches, and will make him a small present for agreeing to do so. The master stevedore orders his men to do this work, and they, though rarely refusing, often demand pay. The amount of the "present" is never sufficient to allow of this, and, the master persisting, the men do the work under protest. When that vessel arrives in dock again, she is "marked" by the stevedores, who, at times, have refused to load ships on which such practices obtain. The bitterness caused by such action has been known to endure for years, and to have caused numerous minor disputes.

Only in London, it may be mentioned, are the men who do the loading of ships regarded as a distinct class. In the provincial ports work given to stevedores in London is done by the dockers.

The close interworking of the various river-side trades of the Port of London caused Mr. Tom Mann and Mr. Ben Tillett to conceive the idea of a Transport Workers' Federation. In the year 1910 Mr. Tillett introduced this idea to the notice of a number of Trade Unions, represented by delegates, at a meeting held at the hall of the London Society of Compositors in St. Bride Street. At that time a very mixed reception was given to this suggestion, but the Dockers' Secretary persevered, and the Transport Workers' Federation

became an actual fact in March 1911, Mr. Harry Gosling, the Secretary of the Amalgamated Society of Lightermen, Watermen, and Watchmen of the River Thames, being the first President, and Mr. James Anderson, the General Secretary of the Stevedores' Union, the first Secretary. When the Federation was first formed there were only ten unions affiliated, but the present membership is twenty-seven.

So exaggerated and conflicting are the various estimates of the numbers engaged in the transport trade, that it is impossible to give with any exactitude figures as to the numbers employed, but it is probable that, excluding the railway workers, the number approximates to half a million. (As showing the difficulty of estimating the numbers, it may be pointed out that certain classes of dock workers are members of Labourers' Unions other than Dockers' Unions, a proportion of the railway carmen belong to Carmen's Unions, others are members of one or other of the two chief Societies of Railwaymen, while similar confusion exists in many of the other bodies affiliated.)

√ During the period which preceded the formation of the Federation, and that which immediately followed it, Mr. Tom Mann did an enormous amount of propaganda work throughout the country on behalf of Syndicalism and the desirability of the bringing into being of general federations of Labour bodies. X Indeed, much of the progress which has been made by the various unions now forming the Transport Workers' Federation was due to the efforts of Mr. Mann, whose utterances also, it must be confessed, played a considerable part in certain districts and trades in

fomenting class prejudice, more particularly amongst the miners in disturbed areas.

The first example of united action on the part of the whole trade was furnished by the transport workers during the summer of 1911, when there was a general strike in London.

The origin of the London strike was as follows. In June 1911 the responsible officials of the Dockers' Union wrote to 300 shipowners, wharfingers, and other persons connected with the trade of the Port of London, making certain demands for improved conditions. In taking this action they were acting directly against the rules governing the 'Transport Workers' Federation, of which body they were numerically the strongest. The various employers took no steps whatever towards meeting the Dockers' officials upon the questions put before them, and only one or two firms even acknowledged the letter received. ✕ Certain of the shipowners, however, wrote to the secretaries of the other affiliated Unions with a view, apparently, to ascertaining whether demands were simply to be put forward by the Dockers, or whether they were to be general.

This action on the part of the Dockers was a singular example of what the employers call the danger of these great Trade Union Federations, for from this practically individual action the entire transport strike trouble of 1911 and of 1912 has sprung. The letters sent out by the Dockers were the following, the second one setting forth the demands for which the men subsequently struck. They formed the origin of the first attempt to establish a general and national strike of all the workers in one of the biggest and most important industries of the country.



DOCK, WHARF, RIVER-SIDE, AND  
GENERAL WORKERS' UNION OF  
GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND,  
425, MILE END ROAD, E.

June 29, 1911.

TO PROPRIETORS, DIRECTORS, AND MANAGERS, PORT OF  
LONDON AUTHORITY, SHIPOWNERS AND WHARF-  
INGERS OF THE PORT OF LONDON.

DEAR SIRS,

We are instructed by the Executive of the Dock, Wharf, River-side, and General Workers' Union to submit to you the enclosed rates as uniform working conditions for the Port of London.

This claim is made with a view of bringing the Port of London conditions up to the rates applying in other transport centres. Further, the increase is asked for in the interests of the Transport Workers, who have to face a reduced purchasing power of wage, due to the increased cost of living; the percentage during the last twenty years exceeded 20 per cent.

Also the increased efficiency of machinery, the increased size of vessels, of holds, the more rapid rates of working both for Discharge and Loading, adds to the exhausting labour of dock employment, and lessens also the proportion of men employed to the quantities and volume of goods handled.

We shall be glad to consult with you as to the terms submitted to you, and trust your Management will accede to the reasonable request now made in the name of the men employed by you and the Executive of the Dock, Wharf, and River-side Workers' Union.

Awaiting your favourable and immediate reply,

We remain,

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) W. DEVENAY, *London District Official.*  
H. ORBELL, *National General Organiser.*  
BEN TILLET, *General Secretary.*

TO THE PORT OF LONDON AUTHORITY, SHIP, DOCK,  
WHARF, AND QUAY OWNERS AND MANAGERS OF  
THE PORT OF LONDON.

June 29, 1911.

DEAR SIRs,

We hereby notify you of the claims of the men working on Docks, Quays, Wharves, Ships, Vessels, and Craft in the Port of London—

That on and after July 3 a uniform Port Rate be paid, representing a minimum of 8*d.* per hour by day, and a minimum of 1*s.* per hour for overtime.

*Day Conditions of Working*: 7 a.m. to 5 p.m., except on Saturday, when the day shall finish at 12 noon.

*Night Conditions of Working*: 5 p.m. to 7 a.m.

From 12 noon on Saturday to 12 o'clock Sunday midnight, double pay on day or night conditions.

*Meal Times*: 12 noon to 1 p.m., 5 to 6 p.m., 10 to 11 p.m., 2 to 3 a.m., and 6 to 7 a.m. All meal-times to be paid for. All men working meal hours to be paid double time, according to day or night rates.

Men commencing work at 6 a.m. shall be entitled to one hour for breakfast, namely, 8 to 9 a.m.

*Times of Call*: 6.45 a.m., 12.45 p.m., and 5.45 p.m., at recognised places outside, and free from Dock, Wharf, Quay, or Warehouse premises.

*Minimum Pay*: No man to be paid off with less than the minimum of four hours day or night pay.

All men working on the following days shall receive double pay, such double pay to be according to day or night rate: Sunday, Good Friday, Easter Monday, Whit Monday, King's Birthday, August Bank Holiday, Christmas Day, Boxing Day, and any other holiday that may be proclaimed.

We remain, yours faithfully,

(Signed) W. DEVENAY, *London District Society.*  
H. ORBELL, *Executive Organiser.*  
BEN TILLET, *General Secretary.*

X The steps taken by the Dockers were thus brought, by the action of the employers to which reference has been made, to the notice of the Transport Workers' Federation, and a meeting of the Executive of that body was hurriedly summoned. X Mr. Ben Tillett, as a member of that Executive, was required to attend and give an explanation of his conduct. His "explanation" was startling in its simplicity. X He frankly admitted that he had acted wrongly, and apologised for his hastiness, and in the end the Executive accepted his apology, and decided to do what they could to help the dockers, and at the same time to endeavour to secure better terms for the members of the different unions of their Federation. X The result was the general transport strike.

For days before the strike started it was known that there was every prospect of the dislocation of trade being a serious one, and Lord Devonport, as Chairman of the Port of London Authority, hastily called a meeting of the interested parties on July 25. The conference then convened lasted for three days, and resulted in an agreement called the Devonport Agreement being made between the Port of London Authority, the Wharfingers, Granary Keepers, and Oversea Shipowners on the one hand, and the National Transport Workers' Federation on the other. This agreement did not cover all trades, and as the Federation determined to act on the Federation principle of "all or none," the strike came into being. Certain of the "coalies" were the first to leave work, on July 29, and they were speedily followed by all other sections, so that on July 31 it was estimated that quite 100,000 persons were involved.

The ready response with which the strike call was met is astounding when it is remembered that the membership of the different unions, other than those of the Lightermen and of the Stevedores, did not represent a tithe of the persons engaged in the various branches of the trade. The summer, as will be remembered, was an abnormally hot one, and there is little doubt that the torrid nature of the weather prevailing played a great part in making the strike general. Men of all grades and classes were tired of the "heat of the day," and were willing enough to step aside from their round of work if only a tangible excuse were offered.

The employers and the country alike were taken by surprise. London speedily became a city of chaos. Hurriedly the Government jumped in, and just as hurriedly employers went to meet them. On August 5 about 1,000 railwaymen, in the employ of the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway at Liverpool, ceased work, and so started the transport strike in that city—a strike in which there was considerable rioting, and in which the military were called out and life was lost. The railwaymen in other centres joined in, with the result that the trade of the entire country was practically dislocated. Conferences were started at the Board of Trade on August 8, with the result that agreements were hurriedly entered into—one being signed on August 10 which dealt with coal porters, and two others, one dealing with lightermen and watermen and the other with the carters, on August 11.

Meanwhile a quarrel had already arisen over the interpretation of the Devonport Agreement, necessitating an award being given by Sir Albert K. Rollitt on certain points. The Short-Sea Traders signed an

agreement with the National Transport Federation on August 23, an award being subsequently made on this agreement, on September 28, by Judge Austin. All through the beginning of August the transport strike was spreading, and also the strikes amongst sections of the railwaymen. As a result of the disaffection amongst the railwaymen, the Executive Committees of the railwaymen's societies held a meeting at Liverpool on August 15, and issued an ultimatum to the Railway Companies demanding that a meeting should take place between themselves and the Companies within twenty-four hours, failing which they would be compelled to respond to the demand being made by their members for a national stoppage of work. Before the twenty-four hours expired the Board of Trade intervened, and, on August 17, the Prime Minister offered a Royal Commission to investigate the working of the Conciliation Agreement. The men's representatives declined to accept this, and the strike accordingly commenced.

Fearing—and, as it transpired, with good reason—disturbances, the Government drafted military to various centres, thousands of soldiers being brought to London and stationed at the great termini and other points. The position was too serious to endure for very long. Extreme pressure was brought to bear upon both sides of the railway dispute, with the result that on August 19, about an hour before midnight, both parties consented to the appointing of a Special Commission of Inquiry, and the railwaymen returned to work.

Manchester was the next big town to settle. Here the dispute was practically one as to the interpretation

of an agreement of July 9, which should have been considered before. The great pressure to which the Board of Trade was subjected, however, prevented this being done, and accordingly the transport strike in Manchester was really a sympathy strike, caused by men who were annoyed at delay in settling deferred questions of their own acting in sympathy with transport workers of other districts and the railwaymen. This strike was settled on August 23, and two days later the Liverpool strike also ended.

The course which this dispute followed furnishes an instance of how easy it is for a body of men, face to face with a novel situation, to act hastily and without proper consideration.

As a matter of fact, when the various employers' federations, taken by surprise as they were, and fearing the consequences of inaction, entered upon their conferences with the Government and afterwards with the men, the transport workers were practically beaten. The conciliatory spirit shown by the masters stiffened the backs of the men, though at the time when that spirit first became in evidence the strike leaders had good grounds to believe that their movement was going to collapse, and that the majority of the men were going back to work. The net result of the stoppage of 1911 was a complete triumph for the workers affected; but it was a triumph which had its disadvantages, as later events have shown.

Nothing succeeds like success, and nothing is so dangerous as an easy success. Workers in the Port of London, delighted as they were with the speedy and successful termination of the struggle, flocked to the different Unions. The Dockers increased their mem-

bership in the London district from under 2,000 to over 22,000, while the London Carmen's Trade Union, which before was quite a minor body, asserted early in 1912 that the number of members enrolled was something like 30,000. Similarly, other bodies gained exceedingly in membership. The Stevedores did not increase their numbers very much, as they, like the Lightermen, are somewhat in the nature of a close corporation, but the South Side Labour Protection League had, as the result of the success of 1911, no fewer than 5,000 members on their books at the time of the strike of 1912. All over the country similar results were obtained, Mr. Tom Mann again being conspicuous in driving home the lessons of the strike of the summer.

Mr. Mann was engaged by various Unions to speak on their behalf in different towns to point out the advantages of Trade Unionism. He is a violent, but a vivid and effective speaker; and he secured a very large accession indeed to the ranks of the Unions for which he was working. Only—and this is a factor which the executive committees of these Unions had not counted upon—Mr. Mann secured his recruits by painting the possibilities of Industrial Solidarity for the worker in very glowing colours indeed. He practically, as one Union official put it, "told the people that all they had to do was pay in twopence a week for about three weeks, somebody would turn a wheel, and Paradise would come." The consequence was that the members secured by the Syndicalist leader's efforts were most difficult to hold, and a constant source of trouble, inasmuch as they were always desiring that steps should be taken which should secure for them

immediately the wonderful improvement which they had been led to expect.

This last fact had its influence in the troubles of 1912. In March a dispute arose between the members of the London Carmen's Trade Union and Mr. J. A. Bissell, a cartage contractor of Haggerston. Mr. Bissell was a member of the London Association of Master Carmen, the body which subscribed to the agreement entered into the previous August, under which agreement drivers of single-horse carts were to be paid 27s. per week of 72 hours. The dispute was chiefly concerned in the question of overtime rates, and Mr. Bissell decided to dispense with all the Union men in his employ. On March 29 and 30 carts were sent by this contractor to the Surrey Commercial Docks to load with timber; but as they were driven by non-Union carmen the dockers refused to load them up. From that date onwards the strike which occurred in May 1912 appeared, to those who knew what a war of pin-pricks had been carried on by both employers and employed in the dock area since the hasty and ill-considered settlement of the previous summer, to be inevitable. The London carmen made representations to the Masters' Association; but Mr. Bissell withdrew from that body, and so rendered it impossible for any action on their part. There are many among the transport workers' leaders who, in the light of later events, consider that a grievous mistake was made in not ordering a strike at this time; but it is only fair to add that both previous and subsequent to this particular question the men's leaders had exercised a strong restraining influence on their followers, who had, intoxicated by their success in the previous encounter



with their employers, been only too anxious to provoke another fight of a similar character.

The men's leaders, who were more conversant than their followers with the lucky circumstances which led to their victory, were all for peace. They realised that they would never have won had not the employers been frightened and, in their fright, made a great miscalculation.

While the dispute with Mr. Bissell was still proceeding, the quay tugmen, the only tugmen on the Thames—and, indeed, the only people in the whole of the lighterage trade in such a position—who had not a collective working agreement with their employers, put in a demand for a 72-hour week, to be worked in accordance with certain rules they put forward, and to be guaranteed by collective agreement. The employers declined to entertain this at all; and, as the result of their refusal, it was practically arranged that a strike should be ordered of tugmen during the week ending May 4. The Board of Trade, however, intervened, and suggested a discussion under their auspices. The men agreed to this through their secretary, Mr. Gosling, who instructed them accordingly to withhold their notices; but the tug-owners declined the proposal, with the result that another factor making for irritation was brought into being.

Another long-standing trouble came to a head directly afterwards, and the conduct of the 'Transport Workers' Federation at this period was responsible to a certain degree for the split which was evidenced during the strike which followed it. On Monday, May 6, the Sailors' and Firemen's Union declared a strike against the P. and O. and the Orient Line because those com-

panies would not grant to them certain demands which they put forward with regard to the manning of ships. Though undoubtedly brought to a head by reason of the *Titanic* disaster, this dispute was a long-standing one. Indeed, in September 1911 a voluntary fund was started at the General Meeting of the National Sailors' and Firemen's Union with a view to providing finances for the pending struggle with the shipowners on this question of a manning scale, for which Mr. J. Havelock Wilson, Mr. Tom Mann, and others had been agitating for many years past. On April 13, 1912, the day before the *Titanic* disaster, the Executive Council of the Sailors' and Firemen's Union met in London, and passed the following resolution:

"That this Executive Council decide upon definite action for the adequate manning of ships in this year 1912, and hereby agree to appoint a Committee to prepare the requisite detailed statement of claim."

A sub-committee was appointed on the same day, consisting of firemen and sailors of wide experience, who were instructed to make a tour of inspection of all the ports, and report to the Executive Council. It was hoped that this report would be ready by the end of May; but before that time the officials of the Sailors' and Firemen's Union, actuated, no doubt, by the *Titanic* disaster, began to ask the various shipping companies to agree to a minimum of two white men, both A.B.'s and experienced sailors, for every lifeboat which they carried on their ships. Certain companies conceded these demands, but the P. and O. and the Orient both refused, with the result that the strike was declared. (It is worth stating here that the men's

officials had no definite manning scheme to put forward at the time, and only suggested that a minimum of two men for every lifeboat should be provided, tentatively, their secretary, Mr. E. Cathery, holding the view that four A.B.'s and a coxswain should be provided for every lifeboat.) The term "A.B.," according to the Union officials, meant a man who had been to sea for at least three years, and was able to sail a boat.

On Wednesday, May 8, the London District Committee of the National Transport Workers' Federation, which had previously promised that, if necessary, a general strike should be called to enforce the seamen's demands, acting, no doubt, under pressure from Mr. Gosling and other more responsible officials, decided to refer the whole question, so far as they were concerned, to the National Executive of their Federation. They expressed the opinion that the question was of too great importance to be settled by a strike against the two companies.

Accordingly the strike terminated; but the Sailors' and Firemen's Union neither forgot nor forgave the rebuff which they had received, and later had an opportunity of expressing their resentment. On April 30 the dispute had commenced which was to form the basis of the second great Transport Strike. A man named Thomas, who was employed by the Mercantile Lighterage Company of London as a watchman, had been persistent in his refusal to join the Lightermen's Union. He held a card of a Foremen's Union; but the Lightermen's Union declared that that was not sufficient, and on the date mentioned one of the members of the Amalgamated Society of Lightermen

declined to work with Thomas. Subsequently it was decided to call out all the men employed by the Mercantile Lighterage Company, and this was done on May 16. Other master lightermen offered to undertake the work entrusted to the Mercantile Company; but their employees refused to do such work, and were thereupon discharged. The situation developed quickly, and on Sunday, May 19, the Lightermen's Society ordered a general strike of their members. The transport workers decided two days later to support the lightermen, and the second general strike within twelve months was ordered on May 24, 1912.

The response was a remarkable exposition of the truth that you cannot establish the trade-union spirit in a body of men in a few months. The Stevedores, an old-established body, found that all their men came out, as did the men of the Lightermen and the Dockers. But elsewhere the response was nothing like so thorough. The Carmen, whose secretary had announced a membership of 30,000, proved either that they were not well organised, or that they were not imbued with the spirit of Trade Unionism, for only a small proportion of their members left work. So much has been written as to the numbers concerned in this strike that it would be well to give the approximate figures of the Trade Unionists who responded to the "call" in London.

These were: Dockers' Union, 22,000; Stevedores', 8,000; Lightermen, including Watchmen, etc., 7,000; South Side Labour Protection League, 5,000; Carmen, 5,000; General Labourers' Union, 3,000; Sailors and Firemen, 3,000; Gasworkers and General Labourers, 3,500; Tally Clerks, 1,300; Cooks and Stewards, 1,000; Enginemen and Cranemen, 800; Boiler Scalers, 300;

National Union of Clerks, 100; or about 49,000 in all.

Sir Edward Clarke conducted an inquiry into the whole situation, deciding that the lightermen were wrong in the action they had taken respecting the man Thomas, but that the men had distinct grievances in respect of the interpretation and evasions of the various agreements made in the previous summer. The Government started the usual conferences, but with no result. The men offered to deposit a money guarantee, if the employers would do the same, to ensure that any further agreement which might be reached was kept; but the employers refused to consider this. It was demanded, on behalf of the men, that the various masters' associations should form themselves into a federation for the purpose of making collective agreements which should be binding on all employers throughout the Port, and that such federation should consider demands not then formulated. The employers refused to agree to this, pointing out that the various interests represented by them were of such a conflicting character that anything like a general federation was impossible. Respecting this objection, it may be mentioned that the Port of London Authority, of which Lord Devonport is the head, represents in the persons who compose it these conflicting interests, for there are on that body wharfingers, shipowners, Labour representatives, and the Docks management. The most conflicting interests within the jurisdiction of the Port of London are certainly those of the Docks and the Wharfingers, particularly such corporations as Hay's Wharf among the latter, the business success of one meaning to a certain extent the failure of the other. Yet, apparently, the

Authority can work quite amicably though both such interests are represented in its constitution.

From the first, Lord Devonport adopted an attitude of no compromise whatever with the men, preferring, apparently, to regard the Devonport Agreement as an infallible panacea for all ills. The Shipping Federation, the body which hitherto had been most pronounced in its objections to the men's Unions, had no need to advertise a truculent attitude, for Lord Devonport voiced their opposition and placed himself in such a position that he, and not the Shipping Federation, incurred the odium of the transport workers. The part which the Port Authority played in the dispute served to confuse the issues, and gradually the strike came to be recognised as a "dockers' strike," when really the position was that the dockers had simply left work in sympathy with lightermen on strike.

On June 6 the men's leaders informed the Government of their intention of making the strike national, as the employers had declined to meet them at all, saying that many of their numbers had left town. Mr. Lloyd George at once asked the men to stay their hand while he telephoned to the Manager of the Port Authority, to see if a meeting could be arranged for the following day. It was evident that the Manager was rather startled at the threat, for he quickly agreed to get as many of the employers' representatives together as he could on the following day. Under the circumstances the declaration of a national strike was withheld, but on the employers meeting, they decided that they were not representative enough, and that therefore they could give no answer to the suggested advance by the Government until they considered them

at a full meeting on Monday, June 10. The result of this meeting was to make it clear that the employers doubted the possibility of a national strike being called which should be effective, for they rejected the Government proposals altogether; so on the same day a national strike was ordered.

With the exception of the dockers in certain towns, the response was very meagre. Hardly 10 per cent. of the transport workers came out, and they were chiefly dockers. They rapidly began to drift back, and within a week the national strike was ended.

As instancing the value of money guarantees, mention may be made of the fact that at Bristol the Dockers' Union had covered three agreements with money bonds, viz. Grain Men's Agreement, £300; Timber Trade Agreement, £200; and Dock Company's Agreement, £500. Yet the whole of the Bristol dockers left work and rendered their "bail" liable to be estreated. It is probable that, in the case of the two last-mentioned agreements, the money bond will be claimed; but 750 summonses taken out against carmen were settled out of court for £50, a fact which indicated that employers and workmen were on good terms with each other.

During this time the Port Authority had been carrying matters with a high hand, passing a resolution at one of their meetings which was without parallel in the history of Labour disputes. This was to the effect that dockers who were on what is known as the permanent staff, whether the first-grade men, who were weekly men known as "A" men, or the first section of the "B" men, who were employed as ordinary dockers but given practically continuous work, should all, if

they desired to return to work, sign on under the second section of the "B" class, practically as casual labourers. This resolution excited considerable indignation amongst the men, and finally it was decided, on their part, to abandon any attempt at conciliation, Lord Devonport again, on June 21, repeating his statement that the Devonport Agreement was sacrosanct.

The efforts to raise money from other Unions was renewed, and in response to an appeal the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants, whose conduct had been severely criticised by the strike leaders, agreed to lend £30,000, to be expended in strike benefits, provided reasonable security was given. This the majority of the Unions concerned were unable to give, and accordingly the offer fell through.

It was when the order was made for a national strike that the Sailors' and Firemen's Unions showed that they had not forgotten the rebuff which they had received from the Transport Workers' Federation a few weeks before. Though they had supported the strike in London by calling out their members in that port—owing to the strike of other sections it was impossible for them to find work in London, so that there was little merit to be attached to their action—they flatly refused to call a strike anywhere else in the country.

From the beginning it had been obvious that there was very little solidarity amongst the casual labourers of London. The spontaneity which characterised the strike of 1911 was conspicuous by its absence, and from the first public feeling was against the strikers. The dangerous possibilities of such a body as the Federation excited the public indignation, and it was felt that the employers were right in refusing to allow themselves to



be dictated to by a Federation which, with one or two exceptions, was controlled by a number of irresponsible persons who would at all times be willing to order a general strike for the purpose of securing their success in a minor and local matter. Should the Federation survive the blow which it has received, it will be many years before it can effectively intervene in a quarrel between a section of the workers and their employers. The unfortunate thing about the whole situation is that there is such extreme bitterness between both parties to the struggle that it is inevitable, whether the Federation survives or dies, there should be a considerable amount of trouble within the area covered by the Port Authority for several years to come. Undoubtedly the only manner in which such trouble can be met is to remove, as far as is possible, the casual nature of the general conditions of employment in the Docks, a policy in direct opposition to that set out in the action of Lord Devonport and his Committee to which reference has been made.

Certain of the officials of the men's Federation express the opinion that defeat in the 1912 strike will be beneficial, as it will necessitate the organisation of the Federation being built up on a surer foundation.

The strike of 1912 has been of value, if only for emphasising the fact that agreements drawn up hurriedly and badly during a panic, and with no clear definition as to the limits of their application to both sides, are a dangerous menace to future peace rather than a satisfactory solution of a difficulty.

Early in July the employers proposed that the men should return to work under the old agreements, claiming, however, the right to engage men inside instead of

outside the docks, a condition which prevented any control by the Trade Unions of the selection of men, and which was against the agreements of 1911, practically meaning that the Federation ticket should be abandoned. These terms were refused, but the men were ordered by their leaders to resume work on July 29—an unpopular decision, as no settlement had been reached. Further trouble is inevitable.

The chief personalities are :

Lord Devonport, Chairman of the Port of London Authority. Formerly Sir Hudson Kearley, a well-known wholesale grocer, partner in the firm of Kearley & Tonge, and a Member of Parliament. Lord Devonport, who refused any salary with his appointment as first chairman of the Port Authority, is fifty-six years of age, with a very decided belief in his own powers, and is said by the men to be temperamentally unfitted for conciliatory negotiations.

Mr. Leach, a wharfinger and shipowner, of Mark Brown's and Davis's Wharf, Tooley Street. Was concerned in the dispute regarding short-sea trading.

Mr. J. Humphrey, of Hay's Wharf, Tooley Street. A member of the Port Authority, concerning whom the men's representatives informed Sir George Askwith that they thought there would be little trouble with this the biggest wharfing corporation, or on the south side of the Thames, if they could always conduct negotiations through Mr. Humphrey.

Mr. Harry Gosling, the President of the Transport Workers' Federation and Secretary of the Lightermen. Deputy-chairman of the L.C.C. and a member of the Port Authority, Mr. Gosling is quite the best type of Trade Unionist. Very quiet, very capable, the essence

of tactfulness, never desirous of personal aggrandisement, but a first-class fighter. He is thoroughly honest, and imbued with a desire to improve the condition of the men he represents.

Mr. Ben Tillett, General Secretary of the Dockers' Union, is a man of flamboyant character, whose speeches and conduct during the strike have come in for much hostile criticism. An excitable and extravagant speaker, he is greatly liked by his members, who understand him.

Mr. Harry Orbell, Organising Secretary of the Dockers, is the man who is largely responsible for the fact that there is a Dockers' Union. He is a member of the Port Authority, and, like Mr. Gosling, is a teetotaler, and a man of extreme honesty, tact, and sound practical sense.

Mr. W. Anderson, General Secretary of the Stevedores' Union. Though a big, strong man, he found the position of Secretary of the Transport Workers' Federation very exacting, and he has not yet recovered properly from the strain of the strike of 1911.

Mr. E. Cathery, Secretary of the Sailors' and Firemen's Union. A short, stumpy man, of the British Merchant Seamen type, Ned Cathery, as he is called, is popular with his members, though he has not, perhaps, the same strength of purpose of some of his colleagues in the Transport Workers' Federation.

Mr. Samuel March, General Secretary of the London Carmen, is a quiet man, not yet accustomed to handling a large number of men. Messrs. Godfrey and Leggatt, the Organising Secretaries of the London Carmen, are of a different type, and must have suffered severely when

the response made by the Carmen to the strike call of 1912 showed that their members were not nearly so well organised as they had imagined.

Father Hopkins, a trustee of the Sailors' and Firemen's Union. Much criticised during the 1912 strike for the part he took in ordering the seamen not to join in that movement.

Mr. Robert Williams, a tall, powerful man, who succeeded Mr. Anderson as Secretary of the Transport Workers' Federation. A capable organiser, younger than most of the men's leaders, he knows his work and his men. Formerly well known in the Swansea football world as a good Rugby forward.

Mr. James Sexton is the Secretary of the Liverpool Dockers' Union, and is a man of a more business-like type than the majority of the leaders of the Transport Workers. His conduct during the 1912 strike (he refused to allow his members to break their agreement and to strike in support of the London men) was subjected to a great deal of criticism. He has long been a Parliamentary candidate.

Mr. J. Havelock Wilson (aged 53), President of the Sailors' and Firemen's Union, was for many years a member of Parliament for Middlesbrough. He has had a varied and much-criticised career, but is an able man, though rather extravagant in his views. His ill-health forced him abroad during 1912, and he returned just as the strike was ending. He is not connected with the Seafarers' Union, a Southampton body formed by better-class seamen who objected to the organisation of the Sailors' and Firemen's Union. The Seafarers' Union may be expected to take an increasingly prominent part in the agitations of sailors.

## CHAPTER VIII

### THE SITUATION IN THE COTTON AND WEAVING TRADES

THE best organised and the most finely managed industry in Great Britain, if not in the world, is the Lancashire Cotton Industry. It is conducted with a thoroughness and a capacity that is at once the envy and despair of foreign rivals, and it furnishes in its continual progress an object-lesson in the methods by which progress can be assured which other industries in the country may do well to take to heart.

Lancashire is, it is true, specially adapted climatically for the work of the cotton trade; but it is even better served by the pertinacity, intelligence, and energy of its people, both employers and employed. Organisation on the part of employees in this branch of the textile industry has reached an even higher stage of completeness than it has in the mining trade. Notwithstanding tremendous efforts put forward by various nationalities, Lancashire, and through Lancashire Great Britain, easily holds first place in the cotton industry of the world. At the present time Lancashire has rather more than a third of the world's cotton spinning; and the figures of the estimated number of spinning spindles in the world are worth

giving in detail, for these figures more than anything else show clearly the pre-eminent position of England in respect of this great business.

The total estimated number of spindles in the world is over 139,000,000, divided as follows :

Great Britain . . . . .	55,164,794
Germany . . . . .	10,598,752
France . . . . .	7,400,000
Russia . . . . .	8,800,000
India . . . . .	6,300,000
Austria . . . . .	4,718,382
Italy . . . . .	4,622,065
Spain . . . . .	1,853,000
Japan . . . . .	2,176,960
Switzerland . . . . .	1,407,272
Belgium . . . . .	1,371,975
Portugal . . . . .	480,000
Holland . . . . .	454,412
Sweden . . . . .	529,772
Norway . . . . .	74,536
Denmark . . . . .	83,160
United States of America . . . . .	29,522,597
Canada . . . . .	855,293
Mexico, Brazil, etc. . . . .	2,900,000
Total . . . . .	<u>139,312,870</u>

It must be remembered that these spindles constitute purely what may be termed producing spindles, and ignore altogether the doubling spindles and the waste spindles. If these were included, it is estimated that the number of spindles in England would amount to 58,140,200.

Spinning forms one of the most important phases of the utilising of raw cotton. Weaving constitutes the other; and the number of looms in Great Britain, estimated at 758,712, is, like the number of spindles,

easily the greatest number owned by any country. The figures given enable us to formulate some idea as to the amount of capital involved. It is necessary in calculating the capital sunk in the purchase of looms or spindles to allow a reasonable sum for depreciation. On the most conservative estimate, the average value of spindles, new and old, at the present time, is fifteen shillings each, though, assuming all were working, this value would be slightly increased. It has been calculated in the rough method which Lancashire adopts—a method which, none the less, guided as it is by experience, may be taken as fairly accurate—that each spindle requires a working capital of 5s. This would give the capital value of the spinning of Lancashire as £58,140,200, say sixty millions sterling. The original price of a loom, including the building and equipment of a weaving shed, would be about £35; but the average value of all looms, allowing for depreciation, is generally taken as being about £20. The working capital required for a loom is usually estimated at £7 10s., so that the capital value herein existing is nearly twenty-one million pounds sterling. Spindles and looms, however, though by far the most important, are not the only expenses of the Lancashire cotton trade; and if the various other processes of cloth-making and the ancillary and subsidiary processes are included, the actual value of plant engaged would be found to be approximately something like a hundred millions sterling.

The development of this great business has been unlike the development of any other industry in the country. It has been an automatic and inevitable development; and it is interesting to learn that the

German experts do not consider the progress of the trade in Lancashire to have been conducted on scientific and highly technical lines. Lancashire is, it is true, better equipped technically than any other English district; but, none the less, the Germans consider that the technical equipment of Lancashire and the advantage which is taken of technical knowledge are very inadequate as compared with what is done in Germany. Notwithstanding this, the Lancashire cotton industry beats the German every time and in every particular. The reasons are not far to seek, and are worth stating and remembering.

Lancashire was first in cotton; and therein she has obtained an immense advantage, which at present is able to defeat superior technology. Lancashire is climatically adapted for the production of the best cotton goods, and through that reason the trade has become centralised. It is this centralisation, and this long acquaintance with cotton in certain towns to the exclusion of everything else, which have spelt a great success. Children born in Oldham appear to know instinctively all about cotton spinning. Almost as babies they learn the names of every machine and every process, and know the particulars of the same. In fact, it may be said that they are spinners by instinct. So soon as they are old enough they go to work in the mill; and it may be said that from babyhood to old age they think and dream of nothing but cotton spinning. Every man and woman amongst them is a cotton specialist. It may almost be said that there is not one of them who knows anything about the cotton trade beside his or her part of the spinning. Their brains are at work on their own particular por-



tion of the industry the whole of their time, and they are constantly seeking and striving to effect those little differences which mean improvement. As with the children and the workers in the spinning towns, so with the children and the workers in the weaving towns, such as Blackburn and Burnley.

Coupled with this self-centring is the fact that at all times opportunity is offered to the cotton operative of parts. A man of the right capacity and the right instinct, who is working as an operative in a mill to-day, may, before a year has sped, be the chief owner and manager of a big mill of his own. More than any other part of England, Lancashire is a county of self-made men, men who know their business thoroughly, and are possessed of the most infinite confidence in themselves. The Lancastrian who sees a way of doing even some minor operation in the making of cotton cloth in a more economical manner than is customary, steps boldly out with his idea, and works it for his own benefit.

The respect which the cotton operative always has for ability enables this to be done readily, though it is a question whether certain facilities freely provided in the Lancashire industry alone will work for the ultimate good of that industry. Let us consider the usual method of starting a spinning mill, and some idea will be formed of how easy it is, providing a man is trusted and known to be capable, for opportunity to be given of proving capacity. A group of men, usually during a "boom" period, will decide that there is an opening for a well-managed mill. They will agree to form a company of, say, anything from £80,000 to £150,000 capital. It must not be assumed

that they put up such capital or invite subscriptions for such capital. The method adopted—which is peculiar to the Lancashire cotton industry alone in the world—is as follows: The three or four men concerned in the group will approach a prominent mill architect and tell him of their intentions. He will, if he approves their plan, agree to take a certain number of shares in the new company, perhaps a thousand or two thousand. These shares are generally £5 shares, but often the first amount payable is only 2s. 6d. per share. The men responsible for the idea of the company take five hundred or a thousand shares each, and appoint themselves directors. The architect looks about and finds a suitable site, and arranges terms with the owner of the land, and subsequently with the builder, both of whom generally take a large holding in the shares of the company. When the site is secured the time is ripe for an appeal to be made to the operatives. Very often there is not even a printed prospectus; but an advertisement will appear in the local papers of Oldham and district inviting the deposit of loan money with the new body. In the event of the men who are going to manage the concern being well known as capable men, there is no difficulty in securing loan advances, generally from the operatives themselves, who are a most thrifty people, which will be sufficient to cover the cost of building and equipping the mill.

The loan money needed for an ordinary spinning mill is generally about £150,000, which can be obtained readily enough from the operatives in sums of £5 and upwards, at a rate of interest of 5 per cent., and even on occasion as low as 4½ per cent. This money is

withdrawable at any time, but with its aid the mill is built and equipped, a certain proportion of the shares of the company being usually taken by the engineers who provide equipment, and the cotton brokers who will handle the material, and other interested persons. The system is interesting as showing the amount of co-operation which exists in the cotton trade, the operatives regarding it as being entirely in their interests that there should be plenty of mills, so that there may be plenty of opportunity for work. It is easy to see, however, that this peculiar method of finance may easily be overdone in boom time, and it is certainly responsible for considerable misconception with regard to the amount of profit made in cotton mills. It can be readily understood that as in many cases very few of the companies ever call up even £1 per share of their £5 shares, the return paid on the very small share capital paid up is sometimes very high. This point is best illustrated by the actual figures of one of the most flourishing mills. The amount paid up in share capital of the mill in question is £6,250. The amount borrowed on loan is £170,862 14s. 4d. In the event of such a company having available for profit at the end of the year £12,000, there is, assuming interest on loan money is at 5 per cent., over £3,600 to be divided amongst the holders of the shares, which have a value of £6,250, or sufficient to pay on the share capital considerably over 50 per cent. But if the interest was spread equably over the share capital and the loan money, the rate would be only 7 per cent. As a matter of fact, this particular mill pays 40 per cent. on its share capital, its shares, with 5s. paid, standing at 24s. each.

It would be well, therefore, if in reckoning the capital invested in cotton mills the amount of the loan money was always added to the nominal payment made for shares, such loan money being regarded as being practically first preference shares. If such were done, a good deal of the gambling element—which is, after all, injurious to the cotton trade—would be removed, and the fictitious price at which many shares in cotton mills stand would be replaced by a figure more in accordance with the speculative value of such shares. The system is interesting, however, as it shows clearly the absorbing interest taken by all engaged in the cotton trade in their own industry, for the larger number of the spinning mills are built and equipped upon this principle of loan money, as is also a certain proportion of the weaving sheds.

An idea could be formed of the operatives' intentions in financing the building and equipment of a mill when it is pointed out that a spinning mill costing £120,000 to £150,000 to build will, if equipped for mule spinning, find employment for 300 men and women, and if equipped for ring spinning will find employment for over 600 women and something under 100 men.

In respect of the organisation of its workers, the cotton trade is as perfect and as closely knit as it is in its method of conducting business. Including the various card-room operatives, spinners and piecers, weavers, textile printers, bleachers, dyers, packers, engineers, etc., the number employed is probably over 700,000. Each section, save the piecers, has its own Trade Union, most branches having a Union in each district, with the exception of the mule spinners, which has one central organisation known as the Amalgamated Association of

Operative Cotton Spinners, Self-Actor Minders, and Twiners of Lancashire and Adjoining Counties. The other chief sections, however, have also central Federations, the card-room operatives, etc., combining in the Amalgamated Association of Card and Blowing-Room Operatives, while Mr. Joseph Cross is the Secretary of an Association representing an amalgamation of the weaving interest among operatives, there being also a powerful body called the Northern Counties' Textile Federation. It may be said that practically all cotton operatives save piecers are members of a Trade Union; in fact, nowhere is the spirit of Trade Unionism more rampant than in Lancashire, as was evidenced by the strike amongst the weavers at the end of last year.

The employers are now similarly well organised, the chief associations being the Federation of Master Cotton Spinners' Association and the North and North-East Lancashire Cotton Spinners' and Manufacturers' Association. There is also, however, an Association of Fine Spinners, while the Dyers, Bleachers, and Master Calico Printers all have their Association or Society.

With both sections of the industry so thoroughly organised, it is not surprising to know that the many disputes which arise are usually capable of amicable settlement without recourse to either strikes or lock-outs. Indeed, the conduct of the industry during the past twenty years gives clear and striking evidence of the possibility of reaching mutual agreement without Government intervention in trade disputes. Prior to 1893, disputes which resulted in considerable dislocation of the trade were common, both in the spinning and weaving sections. The piece-work rates of the cotton trade (and in general most work is done piece-

work) usually rise and fall according to the state of trade and the price of cotton. At least, such is the expressed intention of the employers' section, but it is the one point on which they cannot always secure the co-operation of their employees.

Under the Brooklands Agreement of 1893, all disputes which may arise amongst spinners and kindred branches are dealt with, while the weaving section is worked upon a uniform price list, any divergence from which, which may cause a dispute, having to be settled by reference to Committees constituted very similarly to that laid down by the Brooklands Agreement.

The circumstances which gave rise to this particular agreement are worth giving in some detail, for it has formed the model for many later agreements. So is also the first paragraph of the same, the latter, indeed, being strongly indicative of the common-sense, practical methods which govern the masters and workmen of Lancashire. At the latter end of 1892 the employers demanded that the operatives should consent to a reduction of 5 per cent. on their piece-work list. To this the men would not consent, and the result was that all spinning mills were closed for twenty and a half weeks. Eventually certain representatives of the employers and the men met secretly at Brooklands, near Manchester, and after thirteen to fourteen hours' deliberation produced the agreement which, with certain amendments, has since governed the spinning trade. Here is the first paragraph of that agreement, which shows clearly the spirit animating both sides :

“The representatives of the employers and the representatives of the employed, in the pending dispute,

hereby admit that disputes and differences between them are inimical to the interests of both parties, and that it is expedient and desirable that some means may be adopted for the future whereby such disputes and differences may be expeditiously and amicably settled, and strikes and lock-outs avoided."

In other respects the Brooklands Agreement is practically the same as the "Joint Rules for the Settlement of Trade Disputes" drawn up for the weaving section, the difference between the agreement and the rules being largely one of detail. The intention and the procedure are somewhat similar, but the rules referred to, being the more succinct, are given below. It will be noticed that neither side sacrifices its right to lock-out or to strike.

"1. In the event of a trade dispute arising between any member of any Employers' Association for the time being comprised in The North and North-East Lancashire Cotton Spinners' and Manufacturers' Association and an Association of Operatives (on behalf of any member or members) for the time being comprised in The Northern Counties Textile Trades Federation, the following course shall be taken:

"(a) Before any notice shall be given by either party to terminate employment, the dispute shall be brought forthwith before a Local Joint Meeting of Representatives of Employers and of Operatives in the particular section of trade affected, and such meeting shall be held within four days (exclusive of Sunday) from the date of an application by either party for such a meeting; and if a settlement of the dispute be not come to at that meeting, or at an adjournment thereof, then

"(b) Before any notice shall be given by either party

to terminate employment, the dispute shall be brought before a Joint Meeting of Representatives of The North and North-East Lancashire Cotton Spinners' and Manufacturers' Association and of The Amalgamated Association of the Trade Unions formed in that section of the trade to which the dispute relates, and such meeting shall be held in Manchester within seven days from the date of an application by either party for such meeting; and if a settlement of the dispute be not come to at that meeting, or at an adjournment thereof, then

“(c) Before any notice shall be given by either party to terminate employment, the dispute shall be brought before a Joint Meeting of Representatives of The North and North-East Lancashire Cotton Spinners' and Manufacturers' Association and of The Northern Counties Textile Trades Federation, and such meeting shall be held in Manchester within seven days from the date of an application by either party for such meeting; and if a settlement be not come to at such meeting, or at an adjournment thereof, then either party shall be at liberty to take whatever course it thinks fit.

“2. Whenever a settlement of any trade dispute shall not have been come to, and operatives are on strike or locked-out of employment in consequence thereof, then meetings shall be held periodically between Representatives of The North and North-East Lancashire Cotton Spinners' and Manufacturers' Association and of The Northern Counties Textile Trades Federation; the first of such meetings shall be held in Manchester four weeks after and at the same place and hour as the last meeting of representatives in the same dispute, and subsequent meetings shall be held at the same place and hour periodically every four weeks until the dispute be settled, and without formal application by either party for any such meeting.

“3. If the attendance of any person or persons is desired by either party at any meeting to be held for



the consideration of a trade dispute, and notice in writing is given to the other party of such desire, each party will when so desired request such person or persons to attend the meeting.

"4. In the event of an application being made by the operatives in any section for an advance of wages, or by the employers in any section for a reduction of wages, such application, if not granted, shall, before any notice is given by either party to terminate employment, be brought before a Joint Meeting of Representatives of The North and North-East Lancashire Cotton Spinners' and Manufacturers' Association and of The Amalgamated Association of the Trade Unions formed in that section of the trade to which the application relates, and if a settlement be not then come to the matter shall, before any notice is given by either party to terminate employment, be brought before a Joint Meeting in Manchester between the Representatives of The North and North-East Lancashire Cotton Spinners' Association and of The Northern Counties Textile Trades Federation."

These Joint Rules were decided upon at the latter end of 1909, since which date there has only been one serious stoppage of work, and that, by the way, the first serious stoppage since 1878. At the close of last year the operatives objected to the employment of certain non-Unionists in weaving sheds. They did not submit the dispute for discussion, as is laid down in the rules, taking the view that it was purely a domestic affair of the Union and not a matter on which the employers should express any opinion. Accordingly certain firms were "struck," and the Manufacturers' Association retaliated by locking out all weavers employed in mills belonging to their members. At the end of three and a half weeks the operatives returned to work, Sir George

Askwith having intervened. The point in dispute was not settled, but both parties agreed to ask Sir George Askwith for suggestions at the end of six months, if they felt that they required them. In the event of the suggestions being asked for and given, and no solution being found, it was agreed that neither side should take any action upon the question which would involve a stoppage of machinery unless six months' notice in writing had been given. It is highly improbable that Sir George Askwith will have to make these suggestions; for, as Sir Charles Macara says, "outside intervention in differences and disputes in the cotton industry has never been acceptable, and their settlement has in all cases been affected by joint meetings of representatives of employers and operatives."

Since the Brooklands Agreement there have been two stoppages amongst the cotton spinners—one of seven weeks in 1908, and one of seven days in 1910. It may be pointed out that in 1908 certain of the men's associations, and those the strongest, were prepared to accept the 5-per-cent. reduction in wages asked by the employers, but, as other sections declined to accept such reduction, mills containing about 40,000,000 spindles were stopped. Like other industries, the various sections of the textile trade are closely interdependent, and a stoppage of one section speedily means the stoppage of the whole industry—an industry which employs directly considerably more than 700,000 workers. The week's stoppage of 1910 was due to the fact that the card-room operatives struck work as a protest against a grinder being discharged, the Employers' Federation retaliating by a general lock-out some three months later. On this

occasion, for the first time in an important dispute in the cotton trade, it was agreed, failing settlement in conference, to submit the question to arbitration.

For years past the Employers' Federation have been endeavouring to establish a scheme whereby wages shall be regulated in accordance with the conditions of trade, so that questions which in the past have led to disputes may be automatically adjusted. In some respects the proposals advanced bear a resemblance to the methods obtaining more particularly in coal mining, but nothing has yet been agreed upon in this respect. It is merely another expression of the desire, both on the part of employers and employed, to secure some scheme for adjusting differences which will enable the conduct of the trade to be more or less continuous.

It may be pointed out that, during periods of depression, short time is worked in the cotton trades by agreement. For instance, after the money famine of 1907 in the United States, trade in Lancashire was bad, and, accordingly, short time was worked from practically 1908 to the middle of 1911. The employers ballot among themselves on this question of short time, and the consent of 80 per cent. of the Federation members has to be obtained before an alteration in hours is allowed. The hours at present worked are  $55\frac{1}{2}$  per week, but short time is generally 40 hours per week.

Some idea of the complicated nature of the cotton trade is evidenced by the number of grades of labour which exist. The latest figures available as to the average weekly earnings of these respective grades are those contained in the Report of the Board of Trade Inquiry. Here are the grades and figures:

MEN	Time	Piece
Foremen and Assistant Foremen :	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>
Preparing Department . . . . .	38 5	43 2
Spinning " . . . . .	40 4	42 5
Weaving " . . . . .	38 6	43 10
Other Departments . . . . .	34 1	38 6
Mixers . . . . .	21 5	—
Scutchers . . . . .	25 8	—
Grinders or Card-room Jobbers . . . . .	29 3	—
Spinners (3 grades) . . . . .	{ —	38 5
	{ —	42 10
	{ —	45 11
Big Piecers . . . . .	18 4	20 8
Twiners . . . . .	—	36 10
Ball Warpers . . . . .	31 7	39 3
Sizers, Tapers, or Slashers . . . . .	42 1	44 7
Warp Dressers . . . . .	—	35 0
Twisters-in . . . . .	25 9	24 8
Drawers-in . . . . .	28 4	30 1
Weavers (4 grades) . . . . .	{ —	21 8
	{ —	19 5
	{ —	24 10
	{ —	32 10
Fustian Weavers . . . . .	—	22 1
Warehousemen and Packers . . . . .	24 1	28 6
Mechanics . . . . .	35 0	—
Enginemmen and Stokers . . . . .	31 0	—
General Labourers . . . . .	20 3	—
Other men . . . . .	23 3	29 2
All men (average) . . . . .	29s. 4d.	

WOMEN	Time	Piece
	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>
Drawing-frame Tenters . . . . .	16 2	20 2
Slubbing-frame Tenters . . . . .	15 1	19 5
Intermediate-frame Tenters . . . . .	14 6	18 11
Roving-frame Tenters . . . . .	16 10	18 10
Frame Tenters (unclassified) . . . . .	—	21 3
Ring Spinners . . . . .	14 7	16 6
Reelers . . . . .	12 3	12 10
Winders . . . . .	13 1	14 7

WOMEN ( <i>continued</i> )	Time		Piece	
	s.	d.	s.	d.
Doublers . . . . .	12	11	13	1
Beam Workers . . . . .	17	2	20	6
Weavers (4 grades) . . . . .	—	—	13	7
	—	—	17	6
	—	—	23	4
	—	—	30	7
Fustian Weavers (3 grades) . . . . .	—	—	12	11
	—	—	18	2
	—	—	20	8
Other women . . . . .	13	1	15	2
All women (average) . . . . .	18s. 3d.			

The figures given are those for the year 1906, a year which, being a good average year in the cotton trade, is perhaps the best year for the purposes of calculation, and they serve to show the extent of the business, over £500,000 per week being necessary to pay the wages of all engaged in the cotton textile factories, exclusive of the subsidiary trades.

These scales of wages are considerably higher than obtain anywhere in Europe or the East, and it is a tribute to the manner in which the cotton industry is conducted both by employers and employed that, notwithstanding the high rate of wages, the British trade so easily holds its own. It may be pointed out that in India it takes five operatives to look after the same amount of machinery and work as is controlled by one in Lancashire. In common with men of other trades, the Lancashire operative of to-day is far more Socialistic in his ideas than was the case even a few years back. None the less, there is so much good sense shown in the relation between master and men in this trade, and so

keen a recognition of the mutual nature of their interests, that it is highly improbable that there will be any serious disturbance of the present amicable relationship, notwithstanding the increase in the number of Socialists in the Unions.

As has been indicated, the capital invested in and represented by plant is at least £100,000,000. But, in addition to the smaller mills to which reference has been made, it may be pointed out that there are now several big combines in the cotton trade which deal more particularly with certain phases of the industry, and represent an enormous share capital. Such associations as the Bleachers' Association, Limited, with capital and stock issued to the amount of over £6,720,000; the Calico Printers' Association, with similar issues of over £8,200,000; the wonderful business of J. and P. Coats, Limited, which now has a reserve fund of about £8,000,000; the Fine Cotton Spinners' Association, with £7,250,000 share capital and mortgage debenture stock, are but a few of the large combines.

The principal persons engaged in the cotton industry, and those who are most prominent in the settlement of disputes, are Sir Charles Macara, Sir Frank Hollins, and Mr. Wilkinson Hartley for the employers; and Mr. Crinion, Mr. W. Marsland, of the Spinners, Mr. W. Mullin, of the Card-Room Operatives, Mr. Joseph Cross, and Mr. T. Shaw, the Secretary of the Northern Counties Textile Trades Federation. All these are men of considerable sagacity, and if the handling of disputes could always be left to them alone there is little doubt that the reaching of agreement would be a comparatively easy matter.

Sir Charles Macara, who is the head of the firm of Henry Bannerman & Sons, is easily the best-known man in the cotton world, having been President of the English Federation of Master Cotton Spinners' Associations since 1894, and Chairman of the Committee of the International Federation of Master Cotton Spinners since 1904. He was largely responsible for the drafting of the Brooklands Agreement, and has taken such a prominent part in the promotion of proper understanding between employers and employed that he was offered, and accepted, the position of first President of the new Industrial Council.

Sir Frank Hollins is the Chairman of the famous firm of Horrockes, Crewdson & Co., and, though not so well known outside Lancashire as Sir Charles Macara, is generally accepted in his own district as having a knowledge of the trade which is second to none.

Cotton is of course by far the most important of all the textile trades, the next in importance being the woollen and worsted trade, in which close upon 300,000 persons find employment. In the flax, jute, hemp, and China grass trade over 150,000 persons are employed. Hosiery, which is an advancing trade, now employs over 40,000. But, with the exception of silk, which is a declining industry, and lace, which is reviving, no other branch employs 10,000 persons.

A distinct branch, and that a very important one of the British textile trade, is the bleaching, printing, dyeing, and finishing of textile fabrics, in which branch something like 130,000 persons find employment. In the whole of the textile industry the total number employed, directly and indirectly, is probably nearly 1,500,000.

The woollen and worsted industry differs from the cotton inasmuch as it is not so centralised. The West Riding of Yorkshire does, it is true, contain by far the largest proportion of woollen workers; but there are scattered groups in Leicestershire, Gloucestershire, Somerset, Wiltshire, Worcestershire, and Wales, while Lancashire has a considerable number also. Practically about 70 per cent. of those engaged in the trade are engaged in Yorkshire, though in Scotland some 30,000 persons are engaged, and in Ireland something like 5,000.

With the trade so scattered, it is not of course an easy matter to secure such united action in regard to the settlement of trade disputes as is possible in the case of the cotton trade. The chief Association, but one which after all only regulates, or attempts to regulate, disputes within its own district, is the Huddersfield and District Woollen Manufacturers' and Spinners' Association, of which Mr. W. Crowther is the President. The usual procedure, in the event of the men considering they have a grievance, or a question of dispute between themselves and their employers, is for the men's Society or Union to submit the matter to the small Emergency Committee of the Employers' Association. Should that Committee fail to reach a decision, the question is considered by the Executive Committee, which, after consideration, acquaints the men with their decision. There is nothing binding in the shape of an agreement on either party, for the scale of wages for weavers, which was drawn up by the Masters' Association after the three months' strike in 1883, has never even been signed on behalf of the operatives.

Though Socialism is rampant amongst certain of



the Yorkshire wool workers, there have been singularly few disturbances in this trade, and the Masters' Associations were more or less moribund until 1906, when there was a sudden strike of willyers and fettlers, which had the effect of stimulating them. Two or three years ago, in a minor dispute, Sir George Askwith was called in to Huddersfield, but that is the only instance of anything remotely resembling Government intervention.

The principal men in the woollen industry of Yorkshire in regard to the settlement of disputes are Mr. William Crowther, of the firm of W. and E. Crowther, for the woollen manufacturers; Mr. Walter Sykes, of Walter Sykes & Co., representing the Fine Cloth Makers; Mr. Ben Turner, the President of the General Union of Textile Workers' Federation; and Alderman Allen Gee, the Secretary of the same body.

The average earnings in the woollen and worsted trade are considerably lower all round than they are in the cotton, there being an average difference of about 2s. 6d. per week for men and nearly 4s. for women.

The majority of the persons employed in the printing, dyeing, bleaching, etc., in the textile trade work under collective agreement made between the workers and their employers, such agreement varying both in regard to conditions of service and wages paid in different localities. The most interesting of these many agreements is that entered into by the Bradford Dyers' Association, Ltd., a combine operating in both Yorkshire and Lancashire, and the representatives of certain Trade Unions. Under this agreement, which was made between a combine and their Yorkshire

workpeople, on August 18, 1899, a Wages Board was constituted, giving equal representation to employers and workmen. This Board settles all disputes of any character; and in the event of its members failing to come to a mutual understanding, any question to be decided is to be referred to arbitration. A decision of the Board or of an arbitrator is final; and in the event of either side declining to carry out such decision they have agreed to be subject to a money penalty. For this purpose, the workmen's Unions concerned (the Amalgamated Society of Dyers, the National Union of Gasworkers and General Labourers of Great Britain and Ireland, and the National Society of Dyers and Finishers) have deposited £500 as a bond, while the Bradford Dyers' Association has deposited a similar amount. Another interesting point with regard to this agreement was that a list was prepared which contained the highest rates of wages which should be paid during the continuance of the said agreement. It was agreed that in no case would the Unions demand a higher rate than that set out, though any firm which paid less than the sums therein mentioned and was earning at least 5 per cent. per year on its capital, and had done so for three years past, could be called upon by the Wages Board to give an advance, such advance never to exceed, however, 10 per cent. in one year, and never to be sufficiently high as to reduce the profit below 5 per cent.

The employers, for their part, also agreed that when new men were wanted they would apply first to the workmen's Unions. Employers were not bound to accept any man sent by the Unions, but the Wages Board holds the right of demanding a reason for the

rejection of any man so sent. If the Union sends a man who has previously been discharged for drunkenness, or for bad time-keeping, they have to mention these facts. If a workman leaves his Union, the directors of the works where such man is employed order him to rejoin. Firms starting men contrary to these arrangements are fined £1 for each man so started, and such men are discharged, while the Trade Unions concerned are fined £1 for each man who leaves work without the consent of his employer or the Wages Board; and in the event of the fine not being recovered by the Union from the workman, such workmen are expelled.

In 1907 the agreement was slightly modified, the chief alteration being a restriction in the number of boy labourers and the number of improvers. Further modifications have taken place since then, but the main principles remain the same.

In the hosiery, lace trade, silk trade, and the carpet trade of Kidderminster, conditions of labour are regulated by piece price lists, the silk trade being distinct so far as Macclesfield is concerned, inasmuch as wages are regulated under arrangements based upon a collective agreement between employers and employed made over sixty years ago. So long ago as 1849 the Macclesfield Silk Trade Board was established, which had, in addition to representatives of the employers and employed, a Chairman who was entitled to give a decision which, failing an independent agreement between the parties, was to be final. This Board only existed for four years, but certain of the workers' wages have always been regulated under the original list drawn up by the Board in 1849.

Generally speaking, it may be said that the relations between Capital and Labour in the whole of the textile industry are on a very sound basis indeed; and though the workers in certain districts of Yorkshire and Lancashire have been among the first to accept the doctrines of Socialism, there does not appear at present to be any probability of their allowing their political beliefs to involve them in trade disputes. The possibility of forming a 'Textile Workers' Federation which should have such power as the members of the Transport Workers' Federation Executive have in respect of united action is very remote. The various grades and trades concerned are too distinct to render such a possibility likely, and any action which may be taken will be taken by the particular group desiring altered conditions, and not by the united body.

It must not be thought that the different sections of, for instance, the cotton trade are not as interdependent as the sections of other big industries. The difference is that the workers in these various sections accentuate the distinctions between the duties of the various groups, while the conduct of the trade itself tends also towards sharp definition of sections. Thus weaving and spinning are kept distinct, while dyeing and printing are, in a sense, almost another trade, and similar conditions obtain throughout all textile trades.

An industry in which trouble may be expected is the jute industry of Dundee. Here the majority of the employees are women who are badly underpaid, notwithstanding the fact that huge fortunes are made in the jute trade. At present the women are unorganised, but there are many signs that the desire for organisation is growing amongst women workers generally.

Any reference to the methods of settling disputes in the textile trades would be incomplete without a reference to the famous Nottingham Board established in 1860 by the late Right Hon. A. J. Mundella. This was practically the first Conciliation Board to endure for any period of time, for it lasted twenty years and worked admirably, stopping strikes and preserving peace. The effect of the work of this Board had admirable effect on the workers in other trades and was largely responsible for the establishment of different Boards and the growth of the Agreement system.

It might be pointed out that the various disputes which have occurred during 1912 amongst the cotton operatives have been, with the exception of the weaving dispute at the beginning of the year, only of minor importance and have speedily been adjusted. Such disputes appear to be inevitable in such a large and well-organised trade as is the cotton trade, but they need not be regarded as very harmful. In the great majority of cases the question is settled without a stoppage, while such stoppages as do occur are usually of short duration and so local in character as to cause very little dislocation of trade.

## CHAPTER IX

### THE SITUATION IN THE MINING WORLD

It is a trite saying to assert, as is often done, that upon the coal mines of Great Britain depends all the industry of the country. Coal is the basis of all mechanical energy, and therefore, in a mechanical country such as ours, coal is practically the first necessity of industrial life, and anything which threatens the ready continuity of our coal supply is of paramount importance.

It is impossible to give the exact figures of the huge capital sunk in coal mines throughout Great Britain, but it is known that the profits, according to the official returns, from coal and other mining, exceed £16,000,000 per annum sterling. It is stated on the men's behalf that this figure is greatly underestimated, but, assuming that the annual profits made by the coal mines of the country are, as is officially stated, about £15,000,000, the capital value of the mines would be about £250,000,000. This is assuming that the profit on coal mines averages 6 per cent., and it must be pointed out that, though it is true many mines earn far more than this, there are so many which pay little or no dividend that it is doubtful

whether an average of 6 per cent. is not, after all, rather optimistic.

X The mining industry on both sides is extremely well organised. Practically all the workers in coal mines are members of one or other of the Unions, the number of non-Union workers being so trifling as not to be worth consideration. X Similarly the employers are organised in local associations, which in turn are merged into one great federation known as the Mining Association of Great Britain. In certain of the local associations the proportion of mine owners enrolled in the membership is higher than 80 per cent., and in the majority of cases non-associated colliery owners conduct their business on the lines laid down by the various associations. Altogether there are about twenty local associations of colliery owners in England, and five in Scotland, the strongest, numerically and financially, being the Monmouthshire and South Wales Association.

The latter body work under different conditions from those which prevail elsewhere, having to operate in the face of fierce and rapidly growing foreign competition—over 50 per cent. of the South Wales coal being exported.

† On the workers' side there are seventy-two local associations in England and Scotland, and one in Ireland.

X These are merged again into eleven district federations, the majority of which are associated in the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, a body which, with the Mining Association of Great Britain, dominates the entire industry. The number of persons employed is over 1,000,000, of whom the largest number are employed in the Yorkshire coalfield. The last year for which full comparative figures are available is

1910, for which the following statistics of men and boy employees are given :

Yorkshire Coalfields . . . . .	250,996
South Wales „ . . . . .	213,252
Northern „ . . . . .	212,350
Scottish „ . . . . .	137,873
Lancashire „ . . . . .	104,680
Midland „ . . . . .	88,127
North Wales „ . . . . .	15,171
Other Coalfields in Great Britain . . . . .	27,904
Irish Coalfield . . . . .	725
Total . . . . .	<u>1,051,078</u>

These figures include about 15,000 persons employed in iron mines.

Great Britain is by far the greatest coal-mining country in the world, if the number of employees alone is taken into consideration. The number of persons employed in coal mining in this country is about 3 to 2 as compared with the United States, 20 to 11 as compared to Germany, 16 to 5 as compared to France, over 7 to 1 as compared to Belgium, about 9 to 1 as compared to India, and nearly 7 to 1 in comparison with Japan.

The output of coal in the United Kingdom has exceeded 250,000,000 tons every year since 1906, though it is probable that, owing to the general strike, the figures for 1912 will show a decline. The world's output for 1910 was 1,154,000,000 tons, while the total production for the United Kingdom in the same year was 264,292,588 tons, the United Kingdom's percentage of the world's output being 23·9, which, with the exception of the figures for 1909, was the lowest proportion for very many years. In 1897 the



output of the United Kingdom was 32 per cent. of the world's output, but since that date the decline has been practically continuous. With the exception of miners in the United States and Australasia, Great Britain has the highest production of coal produced per person employed above and below ground, though it is significant, in view of the agitation which has been carried on amongst miners, to point out that the British production per person has consistently decreased. In 1899, 314 tons was the production per person in Great Britain; 1900, 300 tons; 1901, 281 tons; in 1902, 285 tons; in 1903, 283 tons; in 1904, 284 tons; in 1905, 285 tons; in 1906, 294 tons; in 1907, 294 tons; in 1908, 273 tons; in 1909, 268 tons. It may be pointed out with reference to the higher production per person in both Australia and the United States that the character of the coal in those countries is much easier from the miners' point of view than it is in Great Britain. The United States is the greatest coal-producing country in the world, producing in 1910 no less than 445,780,075 tons, or over 600 tons per person employed.<sup>1</sup>

The relationship between owners and workers in the British coal mines has always been one of more or less armed neutrality; the nature of the business and the methods of its conduct being such that there is always considerable opportunity for dispute. Generally speaking, conditions of employment are regulated under collective agreements between employers and employees, such a state of things having been produced as the

<sup>1</sup> The figures given are taken from the figures supplied in the "South Wales Coal Annual," and differ slightly from the figures prepared by the Board of Trade.

result of the gradual process of negotiations between masters and men, which have, in some cases, been proceeding for over half a century.

These agreements have always been entered into by Committees of the coal owners and workers. They are of a very variable character, and chiefly affect the regulation of wages, which is done in most cases on a basis calculated from the average selling price of coal, though in certain instances it is expressly laid down that other factors shall be taken into consideration in deciding wages. The first time that proper machinery for conciliation and arbitration in the coal-mining industry was established was in 1872, when a Joint Committee was formed in Durham, since which time such machinery has been extended over the whole of the British coalfields. In 1894 the first Conciliation Board was formed in Durham, and re-formed both in Durham and Northumberland in 1899. Four years prior to this, in 1895, a Cumberland Board was established, to which was added a Committee empowered to consider local disputes. After the great disputes in what is known as the Federated Districts (Lancashire, Cheshire, Yorkshire, Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, Leicestershire, Shropshire, part of Staffordshire, Warwickshire, and North Wales) in 1893, a Board was formed in the year following, which is still in existence, though from 1896 to 1899 it was temporarily disbanded. On some occasions this Board, in addition to dealing with questions of wages, settled disputes at individual collieries, while there are also two Committees in Yorkshire to which disputes which occur in that county are occasionally referred. The Forest of Dean Board was formed in 1895, the Radstock Board

in 1901. The South Staffordshire and East Worcestershire Board, which was formed in 1899, is still in existence, but its members on both sides have agreed always to accept decisions of the Board for the Federated Districts.

The Conciliation Board for Scotland was formed in 1900, while that for South Wales and Monmouthshire was established in 1903. Altogether the number of Boards in the coal trade is nineteen, over 800,000 work-people being affected by their operations. The number of cases considered by these nineteen Boards between 1900 and 1909 inclusive was 4,682, stoppages occurring in fifty-one of these cases.

The greater portion of work in coal mines is done piece-work, and the rates of pay are determined by certain percentages added to or deducted from the rates which prevailed in some particular year, which rates are known as the "standards." The standards vary in different districts, the rates of 1879 being taken as the standard in certain parts of Northumberland, Durham, Cumberland, and South Wales, while in the other principal English districts and in Scotland the rates recognised as the standard are those of 1888, though in most cases there are local divergences from such standards.

The great general strike of the spring of 1912 owed its origin to a long-standing agitation on the part of the advanced section of the members of the Miners' Federation to establish a minimum wage in their trade, the intention being to establish a system which would have the effect of rendering them independent to some extent of the hardships and anomalies which, they assert, existed under the piece-work system obtaining. Previous to this, there had been several attempts on

the part of extremists to force a general strike in the coal trade, it being believed that such a stoppage would have a paralysing effect upon the industry of the country and force the colliery owners to give way to the men in all particulars, a certain section of the men being particularly desirous of proving their power in this direction. Under the rules of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain it was possible, if any section had a dispute with a section of coal owners, to call a general strike of all sections, providing the Executive of the full Federation were agreed that such a course was desirable. Twice in 1909 this threat of a general strike was held over the heads of the colliery owners—once in connection with the South Wales dispute, and once in connection with the Scottish dispute. In 1910 the threat was repeated to some extent in connection with South Wales, and this particular instance had such a bearing on certain phases of the negotiations which took place during the general strike of 1912 that the details are worth giving at length.

X The representatives of the South Wales miners handed in, on January 1, 1910, three months' notice to the employers that they wished to terminate the existing agreement. Subsequently, between January 11 and March 23, a large number of meetings were held of the Conciliation Board of the district. Agreement was found to be impossible and negotiations were broken off, and the men prepared, as they had done on a similar occasion nine months previously, for a stoppage of work. The Board of Trade intervened, and, though told somewhat bluntly, both by the owners and the men's representatives, that their intervention was not desired, they managed to prevail upon

both parties to discuss by means of a small Select Committee, formed of two or three of the leaders on each side, the possibility of coming to an arrangement. (On this occasion the Board of Trade acted tactfully by persuading the parties to the dispute to come to London, thus following the procedure which was successful in the Scottish dispute of the summer before.)

As a result of the meetings of the Committee, the Conciliation Board met again on March 26, the Executive of the Miners' Federation being subsequently called to London to give the men of South Wales their advice and assistance. The threat of a general strike was bandied about freely, and, in fact, it may be said that at this time the fact that there was a rule allowing a general strike to be called for the assistance of the men in a particular district was utilised practically for the purposes of blackmail, though it must be admitted that the Miners' Federation Executive gave no sanction to such procedure on this occasion.

✕The result of the Conciliation Board meeting was that the coal owners offered terms of settlement to the men, demanding a definite reply by noon four days later. They stipulated, however, that, assuming the men's representatives agreed to accept the terms offered, they were to take a ballot of all their members in South Wales, to see if the men endorsed such acceptance, as the owners were determined not to give the men any justification for repudiating an arrangement which might be made, on the grounds that they were not consulted.

✕The men's representatives were very divided, certain of the advanced section being strongly against the settlement, and, accordingly, the question was laid

## 132 EFFECT OF SOUTH WALES AGREEMENT

before the Executive of the Miners' Federation at a meeting at the Westminster Palace Hotel on March 29, in order that their advice and instructions might be taken. The result of this meeting was that the General Executive expressed the view that the terms offered were very good indeed, and should be accepted. Accordingly the South Wales men's representatives notified the owners of their acceptance, and, on the ballot being taken of the men, as desired, they, by an overwhelming majority, endorsed their representatives' decision. Subsequently an agreement was signed, to remain in force until March 31, 1915.

It was this agreement, signed under such circumstances, that so strongly influenced the South Wales owners, and also the owners in other districts, to decline to discuss the advisability of further agreements or the desirability of amending existing ones. The owners pointed out, and certainly with reason, that it was idle to suggest fresh agreements of any character whatsoever when they had no guarantee that such would be observed, and when all their experience went to show that the men were always ready to ignore and repudiate them.

As has been said, the minimum wage demand was the outcome of a long-standing agitation, which found its chief disciples in Scotland and the great storm centre of the mining industry, South Wales, the situation being aggravated by the operation of the Coal Mines (Eight Hours) Act, 1908. In the latter district many of the strongest advocates amongst the leaders were, at the time of the strike, avowed Syndicalists, and it was this fact, and the adroit use which the coal owners made of their knowledge of it, which influenced

the Government so strongly in drafting the Minimum Wage Bill.

The men's demands, as put forward, were a claim for a minimum wage for colliers or "stall men" in each district, as follows :

	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Yorkshire . . . . .	7	6
Lancashire . . . . .	7	0
Midlands Federation . . . . .	6 <i>s.</i> to	7 0
Derbyshire . . . . .	7 <i>s.</i> 1½ <i>d.</i> to	7 6
Nottinghamshire . . . . .	7	6
North Wales . . . . .	6	0
Leicestershire . . . . .	7	2
South Derby . . . . .	6	6
Somersetshire . . . . .	4	11
Bristol . . . . .	4	11
Cumberland . . . . .	6	6
Scotland . . . . .	6	0
South Wales . . . . .	7 <i>s.</i> 1½ <i>d.</i> to	7 6
Northumberland . . . . .	6 <i>s.</i> to	7 2
Durham . . . . .	6	1½
Forest of Dean . . . . .	5	10
Cleveland . . . . .	5	10

In addition, it was demanded that all adult underground workers—with the exception of those in Somersetshire, the Forest of Dean, and Bristol—should be paid at a minimum rate of not less than 5*s.* per day.

The course of the negotiations which followed, and the part which the Government played, are interesting. Practically, Conciliation Boards all over the country found it impossible to come to any agreement, and, face to face as it was with the possibility of a general stoppage in the coal areas, the public demanded early in February that the Government should intervene. It was difficult to see what the Government could do, other than to bring the parties together for further

discussion, and it was evident that the Cabinet themselves considered at that time that that was the limit of their powers. For on Tuesday, February 20, Mr. Asquith invited the owners' and men's representatives to meet him on February 22, to discuss with him and members of the Cabinet the situation. Nothing came of that meeting, nor subsequent ones, and on Monday, February 26, the miners at the Alfreton and Shirland Pits of the Blackwell Colliery Company, Derbyshire, stopped work, in defiance of the expressed wishes of their leaders, who had expressly ordered all men to remain at their work until the end of the month, so that the strike would be general on March 1. On February 28 the Prime Minister submitted the following proposals for settlement to both parties:

“1. That His Majesty's Government are satisfied, after careful consideration, that there are cases in which underground employees cannot earn a reasonable minimum wage from causes over which they have no control.

“2. They are, further, satisfied that the power to earn such a wage should be secured by arrangements suitable to the special circumstances of each district, adequate safeguards to be provided to protect the employers against abuse.

“3. His Majesty's Government are prepared to confer with the parties as to the best method of giving practical effect to these conclusions by means of district conferences between the parties, a representative appointed by the Government being present.

“4. In the event of any of the conferences failing to arrive at a complete settlement within a reasonable time the representatives appointed by his Majesty's Government to decide jointly any outstanding points for the purpose of giving effect in that district to the above principles.”



These proposals were at once accepted by the representatives of the English Federated District, and of Durham and Cumberland. They were declined, and most emphatically so, by the representatives of the Forest of Dean, Somerset, Bristol, Northumberland, Scotland, and South Wales—the two latter districts laying particular stress upon the fact that they desired to abide by agreements entered into under the auspices of the Board of Trade. The Miners' Federation, for their part, consented to the first two propositions; but stated that with regard to the third they could only enter into such conferences on the understanding that the minimum wage to be fixed should be the one they had demanded in the scale set out previously. They declined to express any opinion on the suggestions embodied in the fourth proposition.

It was pointed out at the time that the Government had secured the consent of colliery owners who controlled 60 per cent. of the output of the country; but this is scarcely a fair way of stating the situation. The combined districts which agreed to accept the Prime Minister's proposals do, it is true, represent such a proportion of the British coal trade; but they were sharply divided amongst themselves on the questions put to them by the Premier, and the decision to accept the proposed settlement was only gained, in the majority of instances, by a narrow margin of votes; and, indeed, it may be said that 45 per cent. of the members of the accepting districts—as represented by tonnage—were opposed to the Government propositions. As the districts which declined those propositions were practically unanimous in their determination not to accept them, it is easily seen that

by far the greater number of the coal owners of the country were anxious to reject Mr. Asquith's proposals.

✕ By March 1 the whole of the colliers and mine workers of Great Britain were on strike. Subsequently negotiations between Mr. Asquith and the parties were practically continuous, though they were broken off on one or two occasions for short intervals. During all the discussions, the Scottish owners, led by Mr. K. McCosh, were as determined as the Welsh owners, while, on the men's side, Mr. Robert Smillie, the Scottish leader, and the Welsh extremists were as persistent in their demands for their full pound of flesh. ✕ During the discussions the Welsh owners handed to the Prime Minister various Syndicalist pamphlets, compiled under the authority of Mr. Tom Mann, which gravely impressed Mr. Asquith with the dangerous possibilities of the movement of which the strike was to some extent an expression. More particularly was Mr. Asquith impressed by an essay, "The Miner's Hope," written by W. F. Hay, a member of the South Wales Miners' Federation. In this pamphlet Mr. Hay describes the agreement entered into, under the circumstances before described, as "five years' penal servitude." Mr. Hay suggested a direct and wider action for the control of all disputes.

"We must organise in such a way that, no matter how few men are involved at first, if a principle is at stake, we must make the area of the struggle rapidly larger and larger, until such vast interests are involved as to compel a settlement in our favour."

Another pamphlet, "The Miners' Next Step," which had a considerable effect upon the Prime Minister, was

handed in by a Welsh owner, attention being particularly directed to the following extracts on policy :

\* "Lodges should, as far as possible, discard the old method of coming out on strike for any little minor grievance, and adopt the more scientific weapon of the irritation strike by simply remaining at work, reducing their output, and so contrive by their general conduct to make colliery unremunerative." (Practically the pearl strike of the Syndicalists.)

"That a continual agitation be carried on in favour of increasing the minimum wage, and shortening the hours of work, until we have extracted the whole of the employers' profits.

"That our objective be to build up an organisation that will ultimately take over the mining industry, and carry it on in the interest of the workers.

"*The Elimination of the Employer.*—This can only be obtained gradually and in one way. We cannot get rid of employers and slave-driving in the mining industry until all other industries have organised for and progressed towards the same objective. Their rate of progress conditions ours—all we can do is to set an example and the pace."

Mr. Asquith frankly admitted, when shown these and similar publications which were being circulated freely amongst the men, that the owners had strong grounds to be mistrustful as to the future conduct of their workers.

On March 12 the Conferences at the Foreign Office were resumed, a resolution being passed by the men presupposing the establishment of a legal minimum. This had the effect of causing the representatives of the owners from South Wales and Scotland to decline to take part in the discussion, though they attended

the Conference out of courtesy to the Government. About this time, too, certain of the men's representatives began to give evidence that they had had enough of the dispute; and it became obvious to careful observers that one effect of the Government intervention had been to give the strike a length of life which it would not have had if the Government had stood aside. (It is quite possible that if the men had been allowed to fight out the battle in their respective districts, the strike, so far as the English districts were concerned, would not have endured a week. It was the fact that all the disputants were brought to London, so that the recalcitrant element was allowed to exercise its influence upon the more peaceful faction, which prevented the peaceable men breaking away, and caused the prolongation of the general stoppage.)

During the later stages of the negotiations Mr. Asquith's efforts were devoted solely to an endeavour to break down the men's representatives' demands for their minima; and it is the height of absurdity to describe the meetings which took place as conferences, for the part which the owners took in any discussion was practically nil.

On Friday, March 16, the "conferences" terminated finally, and Mr. Asquith announced that he would introduce legislation. Three days later the Minimum Wage Bill was introduced into the House of Commons; but the Prime Minister, true to the belief he had expressed as to the impossibility of fixing actual minima in a Government measure, had not incorporated in his Bill any definite fixed sum. Accordingly the men's representatives, headed by Mr. Smillie, at once let it

be known that they would not accept the Bill, and Mr. Asquith started again on his dreary task of trying to convert men who declined to be converted. Meetings were resumed between the Prime Minister and his colleagues and the men's representatives, and also with the representatives of the colliery owners.

The owners declined to meet the men again in conference, and so the Prime Minister acted practically as a go-between for the parties. On Tuesday, March 26, the owners told the Prime Minister that there was little chance of an agreement, but they agreed to discuss privately, in another room, certain questions which he put before them. After reaching a decision on this matter they returned to the room, Mr. Joseph Shaw, Chairman of the Powell Duffryn Colliery Company, one of the Welsh owners, leading the way. When Mr. Shaw opened the door of the room in which they had left the Premier, he noticed to his surprise that during their absence the men's representatives had been gathered into the room, and were conferring with the members of the Cabinet present. Doubtless the Premier thought that the owners would be longer in conference than they were, and was desirous of utilising the time, but the incident created a very bad impression amongst the owners.

Mr. Shaw at once drew back, and told his colleagues the situation, and they declined to enter. Eventually Sir Edward Grey and one of the officials managed to persuade the owners to reconsider this decision, and so for a few brief minutes the chief parties in the greatest industrial dispute which the world has ever known were brought face to face. There was a few minutes' talk of a more or less desultory character, when one of those

present casually mentioned something about the "five and two." Mr. Smillie, the Scottish leader, without getting up, said coldly, at once, that the 5s. would not satisfy him; he wanted 5s. 9d. for miners, and 3s. for boys.

The effect was electrical. All the efforts of the Government had been devoted to getting the men to accept a tacit understanding that 5s. and 2s. should be regarded as the general basis of settlement, and here, in a moment, the issue was swiftly broadened in a manner which rendered a peaceable and friendly settlement impossible. The Chancellor of the Exchequer was the first man to speak, and he pointed out to Mr. Smillie that the 5s. was only a minimum.

The Scottish leader did not attempt to argue, but simply remarked that he was aware of that, only "if," said he, "the 5s. is the minimum, how can I ask for the 5s. 9d. which we want in Scotland? I have never concealed the fact that we want 5s. 9d. in Scotland for adult wagemen, 3s. for boys at the face of the coal, and 2s. 10½d. for day wage workers." Mr. Smillie's bombshell finished the conference, for the meeting broke up at once.

The day following the Miners' Federation decided on balloting their members to see whether a resumption of work was favoured pending the settlement of the minimum rate, as laid down in the Bill. This Bill passed the Commons on the 26th, and the Lords, and received the Royal assent on March 29.

The interpretation placed upon this Bill is sure to result in considerable dispute, and it is quite possible that a more exact definition will have to be given to certain of its terms. The Act is the most important

Act ever passed in connection with the control of the industrial life of the country, and its terms are set out in the Appendix, as are also the Awards. Already advances have been asked for in certain districts.

The result of the ballot was that the men decided in favour of the continuance of the strike, but as the requisite two-thirds majority was not obtained, the leaders ordered the men back to work.

### PERSONALITIES IN THE COAL WORLD

Sir Thomas Ratcliffe-Ellis, the Secretary of the Mining Association of Great Britain. A solicitor, seventy years of age, and a very shrewd and level-headed man, who has a thorough grip of all coal-mining questions. He is also Secretary for the Employers to the Board of Conciliation for the Coal Trade of the Federated Districts, and is a member of the Industrial Council. He carries great weight in the mining world, and has for years been regarded as an expert upon all matters connected with industrial disputes.

Mr. K. McCosh, Chairman of the Scottish Mine Owners. Mr. McCosh took a leading part in opposing the men's demands during the Government conferences concerning the strike of 1912, and is a man of great determination.

Mr. D. A. Thomas, a former Liberal M.P., is the head of the great Cambrian Colliery Combine of South Wales, and the different collieries with which he is associated must employ altogether the greatest number of men attached to any single group. There was a disastrous strike amongst the men employed at the Cambrian Collieries in 1911, it being said that

the company were financially assisted during the struggle from the insurance fund of the South Wales Coal Owners' Association. Mr. Thomas is one of the Welsh owners' representatives, and is famous for the fact that he allows himself greater freedom of speech than is usual amongst his colleagues.

Mr. Joseph Shaw, K.C., Chairman of the Powell Duffryn Colliery Company, is also one of the Welsh representatives. He is a Parliamentary draughtsman and barrister, and his company, which employs some 16,000 persons, has an output of nearly 4,000,000 tons of coal per year. Mr. Shaw is quiet and tactful, and is popular with the men, by whom he is trusted. The Cambrian strike of 1911 spread to the Powell Duffryn for a time.

Mr. F. L. Davis, Chairman of the Welsh Conciliation Board, is a member of the firm of D. Davis & Sons, and is a very skilful debater, who possesses the faculty of compelling his opponents to disclose the facts which they wish to hide. Mr. Davis and the two gentlemen previously mentioned were, with Mr. McCosh, the most determined opponents of the men's proposals during the conferences with the Government in 1912.

Sir Hugh Bell and Sir Arthur Markham are big colliery owners who earned a good deal of notoriety during the last strike by virtue of the fact that they took the men's side.

Mr. W. Abraham, commonly known as Mabon, who has been Parliamentary representative for the Rhondda Valley for many years, and was well known for his tenor singing when younger, has for a long time been the special pleader of the Welsh miners, though his authority was affected for a time by the rise of the Syndicalists in



his district. Mr. Robert Smillie, the leader of the Scottish miners, is a most determined and uncompromising fighter. Messrs. Vernon Hartshorn, George Barker, and Charles Stanton are three of the Welsh extremists, but Mr. William Brace, Mr. J. Haslam, Mr. Stephen Walsh, Mr. W. E. Harvey, and Mr. J. W. Wilson are well-known men of the moderate school. All save the three Welsh extremists and Mr. Smillie are members of Parliament, the miners having a stronger Parliamentary representation than any other body.

✕ Lately there has been evidenced a tendency on the part of the Welsh leaders to repudiate Syndicalism, but this is generally regarded as being merely because that doctrine is not so popular to-day. ✕ The Miners' Union in certain parts of the country, notably in South Wales, have lost the greater number of their members, yet there will undoubtedly be more trouble in certain districts before many years are past, the housing problem being bound to become more acute.

The English owners, headed by Sir Lindsay Wood, work far more amicably with their men than can the owners particularised above, but that is due to the different nature of the trade and the different character of the men and their leaders.

## CHAPTER X

### SHIPBUILDING AND ENGINEERING INDUSTRIES

FEW industries of such magnitude have, fortunately for themselves, such a complicated system of inter-working between employers and employed as has the Shipbuilding Trade of this country. Indeed, it is absolutely necessary for the purposes of clear understanding to have a thorough grasp of these intricacies, because the action of one trade taken on behalf of its own members may frequently imperil the work of all of them. For this reason it is advisable to set out the various trades directly interested in shipbuilding, with an indication of their individual relation towards each other and towards their employers. The Unions are tabulated below roughly in the order of their importance, although it should be recollected that the action of a very small body of men may compromise the position of much larger organisations.

*Working under the Terms of the General Agreement of  
October 1, 1907, concluded with the Engineering  
Employers' Association*

The Amalgamated Society of Engineers.  
The Steam Engine Makers' Society.

- The National Brass Workers' and Metal Mechanics' Association.<sup>1</sup>
- The United Journeymen and Fitters' Society (Liverpool).<sup>1</sup>
- The United Machine Workers' Association.
- The Society of Amalgamated Toolmakers, Engineers, and Machinists.
- The United Kingdom Society of Amalgamated Smiths and Strikers.
- The Electrical Trades Union.<sup>1</sup>
- The Scientific Instrument Makers' Trade Society.
- The National United Society of Smiths and Hammermen.

*Working under the Agreement between the Shipbuilding Employers' Federation and the Shipyard Trade Unions, March 9, 1909 (and the Supplementary Agreement of December 8, 1910)*

- The Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners.
- The Boilermakers and Iron Shipbuilders.
- The Shipconstructive and Shipwrights' Association.
- The National Society of Painters and Decorators (Ship).
- The National Amalgamated Furnishing Trades Association.
- The General Union of Carpenters and Joiners.
- The Amalgamated Society of Woodworking Machinists.
- The Associated Carpenters' and Joiners' Society.
- The Associated Blacksmiths' Society.
- The Scottish Painters' Society.
- The Amalgamated Union of Cabinetmakers.
- The General Union of Braziers and Sheet Metal Workers.
- The Blacksmiths' Union.

<sup>1</sup> In part only. See p. 168.

## 146 THE SHIPYARD AGREEMENTS

The Scottish Woodcutting Machinists' Society.  
The Sheet Ironworkers' Society.

---

The Amalgamated Society of Drillers and Hole Cutters.  
The Combined Smiths of Great Britain and Ireland.  
The Co-operative Smiths' Society.  
The Hull and District Operative Painters' Society.

Of the above nineteen societies, seventeen signed the first agreement, and then the Drillers combined with the Shipwrights' Association, reducing the number of actual societies to sixteen; but by the time of the subsidiary agreement the Hull Painters had come in, again raising the number of signatories to seventeen. Since this time the Hull Painters have amalgamated with the National Society and the Combined and Co-operative Smiths together (1911) formed the Blacksmiths' Union. Even now the tendency is in the direction of still further amalgamation.<sup>1</sup>

*Not directly working under any Agreement, but affiliated to the Federation of Engineering and Shipbuilding Trades of the United Kingdom*<sup>2</sup>

Gasworkers and General Labourers.  
The United Operative Plumbers' Association.<sup>3</sup>  
Ironmoulders of Scotland, Associated.

<sup>1</sup> The Boilermakers' Society and the Shipwrights' Association are actually discussing amalgamation (1912).

<sup>2</sup> This Federation, to which most, though not all, the men's Associations are affiliated, deals with disputes between employers and employed and also in demarcation differences between the Societies themselves.

<sup>3</sup> A movement is on foot to amalgamate this Association, which has over 11,000 members, with the much smaller Scottish one, which has 1,000.

Patternmakers' Society.

The National Amalgamated Society of Labourers.

Northern United Association of Enginemmen.

Liverpool Shipwrights' Association.

Brass Turners' Society (West of Scotland).

The Scottish Tin Plate and Sheet Metal Workers.

Each of these Societies is paid on a different basis. Thus, the engineers are paid on time-work, as is the case with most of the allied trades; the boilermakers who are in the Agreement are paid by piece-work, whereas practically all the other trades in the Agreement are paid on time. The wages of the general labourers are partly piece and partly time, and depend to a great extent on the wages of the firms under the Agreement, whose rise or fall usually affects them. In most cases they are not paid directly by the employers, but by the skilled trades, although as a rule they look to the employers to see that they secure any advance in wages.

The best-paid men in the shipbuilding industry are undoubtedly the boilermakers. Their work is laborious, and many only attend three to four days a week; but the rate of remuneration on piece easily averages 15*s.* a day, and a full week's work might yield £5 to £6. At the same time it is not surprising that the majority of them do not work a full week, although there are complaints from the employers that they might work rather more than they do. The average shipwright who works a fifty-four-hour week, as do all the other yard employees, is usually paid a wage rather over 7*s.* a day, while unskilled labour is remunerated at a rate which yields about 22*s.* a week, or more, according to the locality. All work in the

shipyards is very closely defined in nature, although there arise occasionally differences of opinion as to whether specific jobs should be undertaken by members of specific societies.

Where there is arrangement as to time-work there is naturally far less likelihood of trouble than in respect of piece-work ; and wages therefore of the skilled artisan in shipyards depend on negotiation as to rates per hour, which are usually capable of adjustment. The serious difficulty is usually provided by issues either affecting piece-work or relating to conditions of employment. Thus the boilermakers, who share with the engineers the doubtful privilege of having a paid Executive, are generally admitted to be the disturbing factor in all shipyards. They have, in addition to terminating the Joint Agreements of 1909-10, decided in future to negotiate independently with employers ; they have raised in an acute form the apprenticeship system, as well as the question of an advance of wages for holders-on, and they have joined with the rest of the trades in demanding a forty-eight instead of a fifty-four-hour week.

To understand the coming issues in the shipbuilding world, it is necessary to state the Agreement in full, under which the working of the yards has been governed.

This is its text :

*March 9, 1909.*

The Federation and the Unions, recognising that it is in the best interests of both Employers and Workmen that arrangements should be made whereby questions arising may be fully discussed and settled without stoppages of work, hereby agree as follows :

CLAUSE I.—GENERAL FLUCTUATIONS IN WAGES

*Section 1.* Changes in wages due to the general conditions of the Shipbuilding industry shall be termed "general fluctuations." Such general fluctuations in wages shall apply to all the trades comprised in this Agreement and in every federated firm at the same time and to the same extent.

Differences in rates of wages in any trade in different districts can be dealt with as heretofore under Clause II, section 3.

*Section 2.* In the case of all such general fluctuations the following provisions and procedure shall apply, viz. :

*Sub-section (a)* No step towards an alteration in wages can be taken until after the lapse of six calendar months from the date of the previous general fluctuation.

*(b)* Before an application for an alteration can be made, there shall be a preliminary Conference between the Federation and the Unions, in order to discuss the position generally. Such Conference shall be held within fourteen days of the request for same.

*(c)* No application for an alteration shall be competent until the foregoing preliminary Conference has been held, and no alteration shall take effect within six weeks of the date of application.

*(d)* The application for a proposed alteration shall be made as follows :

The Federation to the Unions, parties to this Agreement; or the said Unions to the Federation.

*(e)* Within fourteen days after the receipt of an application the parties shall meet in Conference.

*(f)* The Conference may be adjourned by mutual agreement, such adjourned Conference to be held within fourteen days thereafter.

## 150 TEXT OF THE SHIPYARD AGREEMENT

(g) Any general fluctuation in tradesmen's rates shall be of the following fixed amounts, viz. :

Piece-work Rates . . . 5 per cent. ; and  
Time Rates . . . 1s. per week,  
or  $\frac{1}{4}d.$  per hour where payment is made by the  
hour.

### CLAUSE II.—QUESTIONS OTHER THAN GENERAL FLUCTUATIONS IN WAGES

*Section 1.* When any question is raised by or on behalf of either an employer or employers, or of a workman or workmen, the following procedure shall be observed, viz. :

*Sub-section (a)* A workman or deputation of workmen shall be received by their employers in the yard or at the place where a question has arisen, by appointment, for the mutual discussion of any question in the settlement of which both parties are directly concerned ; and failing arrangement, a further endeavour may, if desired, be then made to negotiate a settlement by a meeting between the employer, with or without an official of the Local Association, on the one hand, and the Official Delegate, or other official of the workmen concerned, with or without the workman or workmen directly concerned, as deemed necessary.

(b) Failing settlement, the question shall be referred to a Joint Committee consisting of three employers and three representatives of the Union or of each of the Unions directly concerned, none of whom shall be connected with the yard or dock where the dispute has arisen.

(c) Failing settlement under sub-section (b), the question shall be brought before the Employers'



## TEXT OF THE SHIPYARD AGREEMENT 151

Local Association and the responsible Local Representatives of the Union or Unions directly concerned in Local Conference.

(d) Failing settlement at Local Conference, it shall be competent for either party to refer the question to a Central Conference to be held between the Executive Board of the Federation and representatives of the Union or Unions directly concerned, such representatives to have executive power.

*Section 2.* If the question is in its nature a general one affecting more than one yard or dock, it shall be competent to raise it direct in Local Conference, or if it is general and affecting the federated firms or workmen in more than one district, it shall be competent to raise it direct in Central Conference without in either case going through the prior procedure above provided for.

*Section 3.* The questions hereby covered shall extend to all questions relating to Wages, including District alterations in wages and other matter in the Shipbuilding and Shiprepairing trade, which may give rise to disputes.

### CLAUSE III.—GRAND CONFERENCE

In the event of failure to settle any question in Central Conference under Clause II, section 1, subsection (d), either party desirous to have such question further considered shall prior to any stoppage of work refer same for final settlement to a Grand Conference to be held between the Federation and all the Unions parties to this Agreement.

A Conference may by mutual agreement be adjourned.

On any occasion when a settlement has not been reached the Conference must be adjourned to a date not earlier than fourteen days nor later than one month from the date of such Conference.

## 152 TEXT OF THE SHIPYARD AGREEMENT

### CLAUSE IV.—PIECE-WORK. QUESTIONS, SETTLEMENT OF

Local arrangements for dealing with questions arising out of Piece Price Lists, or in connection with Piece Prices or Piece-work, may continue to be established with the following further provisions, viz. :

Failing settlement of any question under the arrangements already existing or to be established, same shall be referred to a Joint Committee in accordance with Clause II, section 1, sub-section (b), and, if need be, the further procedure under same clause, section 1, sub-sections (c) and (d), and Clause III.

NOTE.—In districts where there is a Standing Committee the question, instead of being referred to sub-section (b), will be dealt with under sub-section (c), and, if need be, the further procedure named.

The settlement shall be retrospective.

Any claim for alteration of price must be made before the commencement of the job.

The price to be paid during the time the question is under discussion shall, failing agreement between the Employer and workman or workmen concerned, be fixed in the following manner, viz. :

Two or three Employers not connected with the Yard where the question has arisen shall give a temporary decision as to the price to be paid, but such decision shall be without prejudice to either party, and shall not be adduced in evidence in the ultimate settlement of the question.

### CLAUSE V.—DEMARCATIION QUESTIONS

The existing local arrangements for the settlement of questions with respect to the demarcation of work shall continue meantime.

## TEXT OF THE SHIPYARD AGREEMENT 153

### CLAUSE VI.—GENERAL PROVISIONS

At all Meetings and Conferences the representatives of both sides shall have full powers to settle, but it shall be in their discretion whether or not they conclude a settlement.

In the event of any stoppage of work occurring in any federated yard or federated district, either in contravention of the foregoing or after the procedure laid down has been exhausted, entire freedom of action is hereby reserved to the Federation, and any federated association, and to the Unions concerned, notwithstanding the provisions of this Agreement. The suspension of the Agreement shall be limited to such particular stoppage, and the Agreement in all other respects shall continue in force.

Pending settlement of any question other than questions of Wages, Hours, and Piece Prices (the last named of which is provided for above), two or three Employers not connected with the yard where the question has arisen shall give a temporary decision, but such decision shall be without prejudice to either party, and shall not be adduced in evidence in the ultimate settlement of the question.

The expression "Employer" throughout this Agreement shall include an Employer's accredited representative.

Until the whole procedure of this Agreement applying to the question at issue has been carried through, there shall be no stoppage or interruption of work, either of a partial or of a general character.

### CLAUSE VII.—DURATION OF AGREEMENT

This Agreement shall continue in force for three years, and shall thereafter be subject to six months'

## 154 TEXT OF THE SHIPYARD AGREEMENT

notice in writing on either side, said notice not to be competent until the three years have elapsed.

Signatories to this Agreement:

The Shipbuilding Employers' Federation.

On behalf of the Shipbuilding Trade Unions:

United Society of Boilermakers and Iron and Steel Shipbuilders.

Co-operative Smiths' Society.

Associated Blacksmiths' Society.

Combined Smiths of Great Britain and Ireland.

Sheet Iron Workers', Light Platers', and Ship Range Makers' Society.

General Union of Braziers and Sheet Metal Workers.

Shipconstructive and Shipwrights' Association.

Amalgamated Society of Drillers and Hole Cutters.

Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners.

Associated Carpenters and Joiners' Society.

General Union of Carpenters and Joiners.

Amalgamated Union of Cabinetmakers.

National Amalgamated Furnishing Trades Association.

Amalgamated Society of Woodcutting Machinists.

Scottish Saw Mill Operatives' and Woodcutting Machinists' Society.

National Amalgamated Society of Operative House and Ship Painters and Decorators.

Scottish Amalgamated Society of House and Ship Painters.

### SHIPBUILDING EMPLOYERS' FEDERATION

#### *Districts*

Clyde (35 yards).  
Tyne (15).  
Wear (12).  
Tees and Hartlepool (8).  
Aberdeen (3).  
Barrow (1).

Birkenhead (2).  
Dundee (2).  
East of Scotland (6).  
Hull (6).  
North-East Coast Ship-repairers (24).

AGREEMENT SUPPLEMENTARY AND SUBSIDIARY TO THE  
SHIPYARD AGREEMENT OF MARCH 9, 1909.<sup>1</sup>

*December 8, 1910.*

The Federation undertakes, and the Unions individually and collectively undertake, to carry out the Shipyard Agreement, and the further arrangements herein made.

When parties are in disagreement as to whether or not a stoppage of work in breach of the Shipyard Agreement has taken place, the question shall be referred to a Committee of six representatives, who will also decide who is responsible for the same. Three shall be appointed by each side. They must not be connected with the yard or dock where the question has arisen. Work to be proceeded with pending the question being dealt with by the Committee, which should then be immediately called together, but no Meeting to be held until work is in progress.

In the event of the Committee failing to agree, the question shall forthwith be referred to an independent referee, previously selected by the Committee from a panel chosen as per next Clause, whose decision shall be final and binding on all parties.

The panel from which the referee is to be selected shall consist of persons mutually agreed upon by the Federation and the Unions.

Where both sides are in agreement, or where the Committee or referee has decided that a stoppage in breach of the Agreement has occurred, the offending parties to be dealt with as follows :

In the case of the workmen by the Executive Council of the Society in accordance with the rules of the Society ; and in the case of an employer, by the Executive Board of the Federation, in accordance with the Rules of the Federation.

<sup>1</sup> Concluded as the result of the boilermakers' lock-out, due less to wages or hours, than to the belief of the employers that the 1909 agreement was not being observed,

It shall be the duty of the Committee and of the referee, if need be, in all cases, to see that individual offenders on either side have been dealt with under rule, and proof of the enforcement of the rules shall be given by the Federation and the Unions to the Committee and the referee.

The procedure under Clause IV of the Shipyard Agreement shall be expedited, so that a claim shall be considered by a Joint Committee within seven days of a request in writing for a Meeting, and by Local Conference within fourteen days of notice of appeal. Where the claim concerns repair work, the procedure shall be so expedited that the Joint Committee shall meet before the first pay-day, if practicable, or within three working days. Any appeal to Central Conference shall be considered at the first Conference held after notice of appeal; the Conference to be held within three weeks, when the circumstances in the opinion of either side make this desirable.

When both parties are agreed, at the prior Joint Meeting, that the question to be determined by a Local Conference, under said Clause IV, is distinctly local in character, the Union concerned shall select from amongst the members of the Shipbuilding Employers' Federation, and alternately the Local Association of Employers shall select from the Union affected a Chairman who shall preside at such Local Conference, and whose decision in the event of the parties failing to agree shall be final. Such decision shall not form a precedent in any other yard or dry dock.

With regard to the settlement of the price to be paid during the time the question is under discussion, under Clause IV of the Shipyard Agreement, it is agreed that settlements shall be made in the yard wherever possible, and that, in arriving at a settlement, parties should take into account the practice of the district and the average wage earned by the workman or workmen concerned on the same class of work on

previous similar vessels in the yard or dry dock where the question has arisen. The same factors shall be taken into account when two Employers are called in under the Agreement to give a temporary decision. The decision in either case shall be without prejudice to either party, and shall not be adduced in evidence in the ultimate settlement of the question. All sums so paid are to be to account only.

The Signatories are the same as before, with the exception that the Drillers, who had amalgamated, disappear, and the Hull Painters' Society takes its place.

After a time of severe depression, which reached its worst in 1908-9, trade was again in 1912 exceptionally good; the yards were so full of work that in several branches it was absolutely impossible to find enough skilled men, and sufficient orders were in hand to ensure the continuance of prosperity till at least the close of 1913 and possibly longer. It was therefore perhaps not surprising that the men were utilising the opportunity to demand better terms.

The agreements in their old form have not pleased everybody, as it will be seen from their contents that they do not provide for finality in regard to questions at issue, while the employees complain that the procedure is cumbersome and does not yield them the positive advantages to which they are entitled. The Boilermakers—after a small vote—decided that they can do best while operating locally. All the other trades prefer a national agreement if one can be suggested in a modified and amended form to suit both sides. Accordingly, six months' notice to terminate was given on May 22, 1912, and the basis of

new proposals was at once discussed by the trades, other than the boilermakers.

The eight-hours demand affects every trade in the dockyard, and is supported by every one, although no one thinks that it is capable either of general or of immediate realisation. In all probability there may be a compromise, which may take the form of fifty-one, a period which, so far as the time-workers are concerned, would not very greatly affect the employers, who, however, finally rejected the demand (June 1912) as it did not carry with it a *pro-rata* reduction of wages. As regards the piece-workers, it is doubtful whether the employers will under any circumstances agree.

There are, however, other crucial points which are expected to entail serious trouble, although at the last moment compromise is always possible, as in the recent case of the issue of discharge notes, to the compulsory use of which the men were strongly opposed. In this case employers gave way. The boilermakers have, however, put forward new demands of their own. In August 1912 the employers gave an all-round advance of 5 per cent., the third in eighteen months, which brought prices up to the level of 1898. The boilermakers thereupon asked for an additional 4 per cent. for themselves, and claimed that this should apply to the holders-on, their assistants in their riveting work, whom normally they pay themselves. To this the employers strongly objected, on the ground that any increase in the wages of these men was a matter for the boilermakers themselves. The apprenticeship question is much more serious. Under the agreement of December 1901 between the Employers' Federation and the United Society of Boilermakers and Iron and



Steel Shipbuilders, it was, amongst other things, settled that :

Apprentices should commence not earlier than sixteen, nor after nineteen.

During his apprenticeship each apprentice was to work as required, in or out of his employers' works, at new or old work, on time or piece, and with either journeymen or other apprentices, at the discretion of his employer. He was not to belong to any Trade Society (except for the purposes of benefit), nor was he to be interfered with in any way by any Trade Society.

Whilst not binding members to do so, the employers would endeavour to give a preference to sons of men working in the different yards.

This agreement was to be in force for six years, and then subject to six months' notice on either side.

Early in 1911 the Employers' Federation raised a wish to amend the Apprentice Agreement to obtain more useful learners; and, as a figure for discussion and compromise, suggested that the age limit should be raised from nineteen to twenty-five. The men retaliated by interpreting the wish to amend the Agreement as a notice of termination. They took the whole selection out of the hands of the Employers, issued apprentice cards, and created a new rule, under which each apprentice was to receive five shillings unemployed pay, thus affiliating him to the Union.

The Employers, on tactical grounds, since hitherto apprentices have not been affected by strikes, and claiming also to control their own businesses, vehemently opposed this new move, and announced their intention to fight it to the last. The Grand Conference, which

was held at Edinburgh in June (1912), failed to arrive at any decision, though even the Men's Standing Committee officially disclaimed responsibility for the boilermakers' action, but all the various Agreement trades will be affected if matters should ever reach a crisis through the demand of this one industry. It should be added that only the Boilermakers and the Shipconstructive and Shipwrights' Association have apprentices. The latter are not putting forward any demands in connection with the matter themselves.

There is also the possibility of trouble in connection with the Engineers, who are insisting on the right to train their own men to attend to machine tools, particularly those of the high-speed variety. The engineers were beaten on this very point in the lock-out in 1897, but they are again putting it forward in a slightly varied form. The attitude of the employers is as hostile as ever.

Apart from the heads of the big firms of shipowners, who are all well known, the President of the Federation being Mr. F. N. Henderson, of Henderson & Co., Meadowside, Partick, the chief factors on the men's side are: Mr. J. Hill, Secretary of the Boilermakers' Society, a man of middle age, advanced political views, and rather a stormy petrel in Labour matters; and of a very different class, the chief fellow organiser with whom he has to work, Mr. A. Wilkie, M.P., Secretary of the Shipwrights' Society, a man with practical knowledge of his trade, very quiet, very able, and very determined, but by no means a firebrand. He is of course considerably older than Mr. Hill, somewhat of a cripple, and represents Dundee with Mr. Winston Churchill.

## ENGINEERING

The Amalgamated Society of Engineers, with 121,469 members (1912), is almost the most powerful of any existing Unions, although in 1897 the members single-handed fought the great battle in favour of an eight-hours day, and were badly defeated after a fight which cost them £800,000. As a Union it has defects—some think it masterful; but none can deny its great influence, which is on the whole exercised most wisely, for it is certainly anti-Syndicalist. Since 1897 it has gained £900,000 per year in increased wages for its workers, and never once forced a strike; its only strike (unsuccessful) was against a reduction (2s.) in 1909. By degrees it is absorbing all the smaller societies which touch engineering work; amalgamation with the Boilermakers, at any rate so far as affects those employed in the shops, is agreed on, and by 1913 the process should be practically complete, while all the smaller bodies will soon become affiliated. The number of these societies can be best appreciated from the list of those concerned in the National Demarcation Agreement which came into force on July 1, 1912. It was concluded by all the Societies mentioned below with the Shipbuilding Employers' Federation and the Engineering Employers' Federation, and laid down that when there was any difference of opinion among the societies as to who was justified in undertaking any particular piece of work, there should be no stoppage, but that the recognised practice of the firm should be continued, or a temporary managerial decision given, until a conference of three employers, to exclude the representative of the firm affected, and

## 162 THE DEMARCATION AGREEMENT

three representatives from each of the societies concerned, should decide the point on lines thereafter to be binding. This Agreement, which has a tentative character, and is not yet applied to the South, only affects at present the following districts: Aberdeen, Dundee, East of Scotland (Edinburgh and Leith), Clyde, Tyne, Wear, Tees and Hartlepool, Barrow, Liverpool, Birkenhead, and Hull.

Here is a list of the societies concerned ; all those not italicised are regarded as belonging to the engineering trades, even if they are not yet affiliated.

Amalgamated Society of Engineers.

Machine Workers' Association.

Toolmakers' Society.

Associated Ironmoulders.

Braziers and Sheet Metal Workers.

Smiths and Strikers' Society.

Boilermakers' Society.

Sheet Metal Workers, Scotland.

Associated Blacksmiths.

*Amalgamated Painters.*

Wood Cutting Machinists.

*Carpenters and Joiners, Amal.*

Sheet Metal Workers.

Steam Engine Makers.

*Operative Plumbers' Society.*

Tin Plate Workers, Scotland.

*Shipwrights' Society.*<sup>1</sup>

*Painters, Scotland.*

*Amalgamated Furnishing Trades.*

United Patternmakers.

Electrical Trades Union.

*Cabinet Makers.*

Coppersmiths, United.

Smiths and Hammermen.

Sheet Iron Workers and Light Platers.

Scientific Instrument Makers.

United Journeymen, Brass-founders, etc.

Friendly Society Ironfounders.

Blacksmiths' Union.

North of England Brass-finishers, etc.

*Operative Plumbers, Scotland.*

*Mill Sawyers, Scotland.*

*Carpenters and Joiners, General Union.*

The great settlement in the engineering trade is as follows: It was, in an older form, after the strike, signed on August 20, 1902, and remodelled on

<sup>1</sup> In many dockyards the boilermakers are entered as shipwrights,

October 1, 1907, since when it has been in existence, and has continued substantially to find agreement, although another recasting is (1912) to be carried out. Particularly is this due to the fight over Clause VII, which, as explained below, has long been the subject of much difference of opinion :

AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE ENGINEERING EMPLOYERS' FEDERATION AND THE AMALGAMATED SOCIETY OF ENGINEERS, THE STEAM ENGINE MAKERS' SOCIETY, AND THE UNITED MACHINE WORKERS' ASSOCIATION.

*October 1, 1907.*

The Federation on the one hand, and the Trade Unions on the other, being convinced that the interests of each will be best served and the rights of each best maintained by a mutual agreement, hereby, with a view to avoid friction and stoppage of work, agree as follows :

I.—GENERAL PRINCIPLES OF EMPLOYMENT

The Federated Employers shall not interfere with the proper functions of the Trade Unions, and the Trade Unions shall not interfere with the Employers in the management of their business.

II.—EMPLOYMENT OF WORKMEN

Every Employer may belong to the Federation, and every workman may belong to a Trade Union or not, as either of them may think fit.

Every Employer may employ any man, and every workman may take employment with any Employer, whether the workman or the Employer belong or not to a Trade Union or to the Federation respectively.

The Trade Unions recommend all their members not to object to work with non-Union workmen, and the Federation recommend all their members not to object to employ Union workmen on the ground that they are members of a Trade Union.

No workman shall be required, as a condition of employment, to make a declaration as to whether he belongs to a Trade Union or not.

### III.—PIECE-WORK

Employers and their workmen are entitled to work piece-work, provided—

(a) The prices to be paid shall be fixed by mutual arrangement between the employer and the workman or workmen who perform the work.

(b) Each workman's day rate to be guaranteed, irrespectively of his piece-work earnings.

(c) Overtime and night-shift allowances to be paid in addition to piece-work prices, on the same conditions as already prevail in each workshop for time-work.

All balances and wages to be paid through the office.

### IV.—OVERTIME

The Federation and the Trade Unions are agreed that systematic overtime is to be deprecated as a method of production, and that when overtime is necessary the following is mutually recommended as a basis, viz. :

That no Union workman shall be required to work more than thirty-two hours' overtime in any four weeks after full shop hours have been worked, allowance being made for time lost through sickness, absence with leave, or enforced idleness.

In the following cases overtime is not to be restricted :

Breakdown work, repairs, replacements or alterations for the employers or their customers.

Trial trips and repairs to ships.

Urgency and emergency.

#### V.—RATING OF SKILLED WORKMEN

Employers have the right to employ workmen at rates of wages mutually satisfactory to the Employer and the workman, or workmen, concerned.

In fixing the rates of skilled workmen, the Employer shall have regard to the rates prevailing in the district for fully trained and skilled men.

Unions, while disclaiming any right to interfere with the wages of workmen other than their own members, have the right in their collective capacity to arrange the rate of wages at which their members may accept work.

General alterations in the rates of wages in any district shall be negotiated between the Employers' local association and the local representatives of the Trade Union or Unions concerned.

#### VI.—APPRENTICES

There shall be no recognised proportion of apprentices to journeymen, but it shall be open to the Unions to bring forward for discussion the proportion of apprentices generally employed in the whole federated area.

An apprentice shall be afforded facilities for acquiring practical knowledge of the branch of trade he adopts, and shall be encouraged to obtain a theoretical knowledge thereof as far as circumstances permit.

## VII.—SELECTION, TRAINING AND EMPLOYMENT OF OPERATIVES, AND MANNING OF MACHINE TOOLS

Employers have the right to select, train, and employ those whom they consider best adapted to the various operations carried on in their workshops, and to pay them according to their ability as workmen.

Employers, in view of the necessity of obtaining the most economical production, whether by skilled or unskilled workmen, have full discretion to appoint the men they consider suitable to work all their machine tools, and to determine the conditions under which they shall be worked.

The Federation recommend their members that, when they are carrying out changes in their workshops which will result in displacement of labour, consideration should be given to the case of the workmen who may be displaced, with a view, if possible, of retaining their services on the work affected, or finding other employment for them.

## VIII.—PROVISIONS FOR AVOIDING DISPUTES

With a view to avoiding disputes, deputations of workmen shall be received by their Employers, by appointment, for mutual discussion of any question in the settlement of which both parties are directly concerned, or it shall be competent for an official of the Trade Union to approach the local secretary of the Employers' Association with regard to any such question; or it shall be competent for either party to bring the question before a local conference to be held between the local Association of Employers and the local representatives of the Trade Unions.

In the event of either party desiring to raise any question, a local conference for this purpose may be arranged by application to the secretary of the Employers' Association, or of the Trade Union concerned, as the case may be.



Local conferences shall be held within twelve working days from the receipt of the application by the secretary of the Employers' Association, or of the Trade Union or Trade Unions concerned.

Failing settlement at a local conference of any question brought before it, it shall be competent for either party to refer the matter to the Executive Board of the Federation and the central authority of the Trade Union or Trade Unions concerned.

Central conferences shall be held at the earliest date which can be conveniently arranged by the secretaries of the Federation and the Trade Union or Trade Unions concerned.

There shall be no stoppage of work, either of a partial or of a general character, but the work shall proceed under the current conditions until the procedure provided for above has been carried through.

#### IX.—CONSTITUTION OF CONFERENCES

An Organising Delegate of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers shall be recognised as a local official entitled to take part in any local conference, but only in his own division. In case of sickness, his place shall be taken by a substitute appointed by the Executive Council.

Any member of the Executive Council, or the General Secretary of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, may attend local conferences, provided that the member of the Executive Council shall attend only such conferences as are held within the division represented by him.

A member of the Executive Council, or the General Secretary of the Steam Engine Makers' Society and of the United Machine Workers' Association respectively, may attend any local conference in which the societies, or either of them, are directly concerned.

Central conferences shall be composed of members of

## 168 THE TRAINING OF MACHINE MEN

the Executive Board of the Federation and members of the central authority of the Trade Union or Trade Unions concerned.

An Employer who refuses to employ Trade Unionists will not be eligible to sit in conference.

Signed on behalf of—

THE ENGINEERING EMPLOYERS' FEDERATION.

THE STEAM ENGINE MAKERS' SOCIETY.

THE AMALGAMATED SOCIETY OF ENGINEERS.

THE UNITED STEAM MACHINE WORKERS'  
ASSOCIATION.

LONDON, *October 1, 1907.*

Since then the Agreement has been signed by the National United Society of Smiths and Hammermen, the Society of Amalgamated Toolmakers, Engineers, and Machinists, the Scientific Instrument Makers' Trade Society, and the United Kingdom Society of Amalgamated Smiths and Strikers.

There have also signed, so far as affects the provision for ending disputes (Clauses VIII and IX), the Electrical Trades Union, the National Brass Workers and Metal Mechanics' Association, and the United Journeymen, Turners, Brass Founders, and Fitters' Society.

As regard Clause VII, various conferences have been held, without success, to remodel it, the men—to avoid, as they feared, the substitution of semi-skilled artisans—endeavouring to substitute a phrasing which asked that the employers, in selecting the men for the various operations, should at least see that the latter were “carried out with due regard to those who have served an apprenticeship and who have been employed at the trade for years, and that provision should be made to prevent them being ruthlessly thrown out.” The em-

ployers regarded this as interference, and claimed absolute freedom of management in the work. The last Central Conference on the subject failed, and both sides were left "at liberty," this meaning that they can take any action they like without further notice. The whole Agreement will indeed, as stated, be shortly remodelled, since there are other differences, including the eight-hours question. Although it is true that this demand is put forward on behalf of all the trades, it is not expected to be carried into effect, nor is it universally desired. The probability is that it is rather a question whether the extra hour shall be paid for as part of the common rate or as overtime; indeed, the majority of the men would abstain from using the saved hour for purposes of rest or education. A curious point in connection with this matter is that the engineers at Coventry voluntarily agreed in 1912 to work far more hours' overtime than their Executive approved. It is often merely a question as to whether the pay is good enough.

Another grievance is supplied by the so-called "premium-bonus" question. Under an agreement settled at Carlisle on August 19, 20, 1902, a joint understanding was signed according to which the A.S.E. agreed to remove all restrictions for the working of this bonus system in federated workshops, the employers' representatives consenting first to obtain from the Federation approval of the conditions to govern its working. The employers and men further expressed their readiness to advise all employers who might wish to establish such a system to adopt in the meantime the following suggestions:

(1) The time rate of wages for each job should in all cases be paid.

## 170 THE PREMIUM-BONUS QUESTION

(2) Overtime and night shift to be paid on the same conditions as already prevail in each workshop.

(3) The time limit, after it has been established, should only be changed if the method or means of manufacture are changed.

(4) No firm should establish the bonus system without intending to adhere to it.

The premium-bonus system is one under which the employer, after giving out work to be done in a certain period, promises the employee a portion of the cost of labour which will be saved by his doing it in a shorter time. The cleverer men like it, the others do not.

After the conclusion of the General Agreement the Society fixed a standard rate of wages according to districts, and the men proceeded on this as a basis to make special agreements with the employers. Thus in London it is 40*s.*, in Sheffield 39*s.*, and in the north-east 37*s.* The allied trades, such as the Brass Workers and the Electrical Union, also made their own agreements. In recent times the practice has been to conclude five-year overlapping agreements with the various districts, so that in case of trade depression the wages and employment of all men will never be simultaneously affected.<sup>1</sup>

As a result of negotiations with representatives of the Ship Owners' Association it has been decided to recommend, with joint agreement, a new national scale

<sup>1</sup> The rates on long agreements are : London 40*s.* shop, and 45*s.* ship-repairing ; Sheffield 39*s.* ; Newcastle-on-Tyne 37*s.* shop, and 38*s.* 6*d.* ship-repairing ; Barrow-in-Furness 36*s.* shop ; Glasgow 38*s.* 3*d.* shop. At Southampton the rates are 38*s.* shop, and 41*s.* ship-repairing ; at Bristol 38*s.* shop, and 45*s.* ship-repairing ; at Leeds 35*s.* shop.

for the wages of marine engineers in the Mercantile Marine. These have not been altered for about thirty years; and while the new proposals do not bring up the scale to the standard paid by a few leading firms, it should substantially raise the wages of the remainder.

The Brass Workers, who seem satisfied with the agreement with the Employers' Federation, have also a local understanding with their employers in Birmingham, as have the Nut and Bolt Workers, whose industry is governed by the South Staffordshire Wages Board, composed of representatives of each of them. Any differences have always been amicably settled after occasionally some plain speaking. There is a guarantee fund in existence for enforcing awards, but it has not been drawn on to much extent. On one occasion it was employed to assist the men against an employer. This section of workmen is rapidly diminishing, as the hand-made industry, carried out by so-called Olivermen, is dying out. The machine hands are now stronger; they have no fixed rules, wages, or organisation, but they make their own terms with the employers.

Mr. Jenkin Jones, the secretary of the A.S.E., is perhaps the best-known organiser in almost any trade-union movement—a man of strong personality and unlimited energy. The chairman, Mr. Albert Taylor, is a Trade Unionist of the best type, not easily affected by irresponsible influences, but with decided views of his own on Labour matters. Mr. W. J. Davis, of Birmingham, is known throughout the whole brass-working world; he has stood unsuccessfully for Parliament, and is a local magistrate. For years he practically was the entire effective organisation of his Society.

## CHAPTER XI

### THE SITUATION AMONG THE METAL WORKERS

IN the metal and steel trades the general outlook in 1912 was satisfactory, since no industry of the kind is better—and in most cases more wisely—regulated. The workmen are paid a wage which is variously arrived at, but which usually fluctuates according to the condition of the trade, a system of remuneration which proves satisfactory to both employer and employed.

Take in the first place the condition of the iron and steel workers. In each district all over the country a basic sum is fixed, to which is added so much per selling price per ton of the finished product.

First of all come the wages of blast furnacemen, who have an Agreement with the employers. These do not work, as a rule, under piece prices. Some work by day, some by week, and some in part under day wages and in part under what may be called piece prices, namely, under a bonus according to the production of the furnaces. The standard rate of wages is, for instance, in the Cleveland and Durham district (Agreement December 7, 1897), taken to correspond to the selling price of 34*s.* and not exceeding 34*s.* 2*·*40*d.* a ton. The additions and deductions are, save as regards a portion of the scale, usually made at the rate of 0*·*25 per cent.

## WAGES OF BLAST FURNACEMEN 173

on standard wages for a change in price of 2·40*d.* per ton, or 1·25 per cent. on standard wages for a change of 1*s.* per ton in price. The selling price of pig iron is ascertained quarterly by three accountants, one representing the North-Eastern Railway, from the examination of the books of seven specified firms, and the system works admirably, both in the Cleveland and the other districts. Here are the figures for the last two years and a half, showing what the men have received above the standard rate, in addition to their "fixed-basis" rate.

1910	First	quarter,	above	standard,	21·75 %	.	advance of 1·50 %
	Second	"	"	"	23·00 %	.	" " 1·25 %
	Third	"	"	"	23·75 %	.	" " 0·75 %
	Fourth	"	below	"	23·00 %	.	reduction of 0·75 %
1911	First	"	"	"	22·25 %	.	" " 0·75 %
	Second	"	"	"	21·75 %	.	" " 0·50 %
	Third	"	"	"	21·25 %	.	" " 0·50 %
	Fourth	"	"	"	19·25 %	.	" " 0·2 %
1912	First	"	"	"	19·00 %	.	" " 0·25 %
	Second	"	above	"	20·25 %	.	advance of 1·25 %

Thus, for instance, in the Cleveland district a blast furnace keeper would get 6*s.* per shift basis rate, plus 20·25 per cent., plus a halfpenny per ton over 500 tons weekly make of the furnace; which would mean that if the furnace made 900 tons, he would receive 400 halfpennies, plus 20·25 per cent. The Cleveland men work on an average of seven shifts (full time) per week, and the above example would work out at £3 10*s.* 6·56*d.* per week, or about 10*s.* 1*d.* per shift. The men are, however, taking up the question of extra pay for Sunday labour.

Next take the wages of "puddlers," who convert the

cast iron into wrought. Here again there is the premium standard plus the tonnage rate. Thus, in the North of England the wage for puddlers is 2*s.* per ton, and to this 2*s.* is added 1*s.* for each £1 in the average price per ton of the finished iron, as ascertained by the accountants examining the books of picked firms during each period of two months. Thus, if the average price be £5 per ton, the tonnage rate for puddlers is 7*s.* For each 5*s.* variation in the average price per ton, puddlers' wages are advanced or reduced by 3*d.* per ton. It is much the same, with variations, in the Midlands, although here the premium is 2*s.* 3*d.*, and it is the guiding principle to give puddlers in this district 6*d.* per ton above the North of England rate, to cover certain extras for which Northern employers pay independently.

In Scotland the arrangement is much the same as in the North of England. The following table, dealing with the Midlands, the North, and Scotland, will give some idea as to how puddlers' wages per ton fluctuate :

					Midlands	North of England	Scotland
					<i>s.</i> <i>d.</i>	<i>s.</i> <i>d.</i>	<i>s.</i> <i>d.</i>
1909, February .	.	.	.	.	8 6	8 6	8 6
April .	.	.	.	.	8 6	8 6	8 3
June .	.	.	.	.	8 6	8 3	8 3
August .	.	.	.	.	8 6	8 3	8 3
October .	.	.	.	.	8 6	8 3	8 3
December .	.	.	.	.	8 6	8 6	8 3
1910, February .	.	.	.	.	8 6	8 3	8 6
April .	.	.	.	.	8 6	8 3	8 6
June .	.	.	.	.	8 6	8 3	8 6
August .	.	.	.	.	8 6	8 6	8 6
October .	.	.	.	.	8 6	8 3	8 9
December .	.	.	.	.	8 9	8 3	8 9



	Midlands	North of England	Scotland
	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>
1911, February . . . . .	8 9	8 3	8 9
April . . . . .	8 9	8 3	8 9
June . . . . .	8 9	8 3	8 6
August . . . . .	8 3	8 3	8 6
October . . . . .	8 3	8 3	8 6
December . . . . .	9 0	8 3	8 6
1912, February . . . . .	9 0	8 6	8 9
April . . . . .	9 3	8 6	8 9

In some cases, it should be added, a bonus is also paid. On the whole, the net reductions of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. in the four years prior to 1912, aggregated 17 per cent., as against 10 per cent. in advances, and tonnage wages are now 7 per cent. below the figure of November 1907.

The system works well, both as regards the puddlers and other forge and mill men, whose wages, varying somewhat in different mills in relation to the conditions of manufacture, are as a rule simultaneously advanced or reduced  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., according to the rise or fall in the price of the finished article. The trade has its periods of exceptional prosperity. In 1901 prices were so abnormal that the men actually declined the last  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. advance. They have never been so good since, but now they are steadily rising, in conformity with the cycle of prosperity which seems to characterise progression in this trade. Accordingly a demand was put forward in the Midlands in 1912 for the premium rate for piece-work to be fixed at 3*s.* instead of at 2*s.* 3*d.*, the men feeling confident enough, owing to the scarcity of labour, to take this action. This request was confined to this particular district, because, in the

opinion of the men, circumstances are operating there which do not apply to the North of England. If, therefore, this tonnage rate were granted, the premium rate would be increased by  $33\frac{1}{3}$  per cent., but it was expected that there would be a compromise in regard to the suggested advance. It should be pointed out that often firms of high standing are not signatories to any scale, but they usually pay somewhat on these lines, as the men's Unions see to it.

Having dealt with the puddlers, one may take the other men in the steel and iron industry who are looked after by the British Steel Smelters' Mill, Iron, and Tin Plate Workers' Society, which was founded in Glasgow in 1886, and speedily extended its operations to England, where at that time the trade was in its infancy. Its operations were then farther extended to South Wales (1887). At that time the Society only embraced in its membership men who were working at open hearth steel smelting, the head-quarters of this particular form of industry being located in the west of Scotland, the north-east coast of England, Sheffield, and the Midland counties. The trade developed somewhat later in South Wales, but so far as the North-west is concerned it is unimportant as compared with other districts. The men soon discovered that it was necessary, more particularly in South Wales, to take in as members men who were working in the rolling mills; and to-day, so far as that part of the country is concerned, any man is accepted in the Union who goes inside the steel works gates, provided he is not a bricklayer or an engineer.

So far as Scotland, the North-East Coast, and the Midland districts are concerned, each of them is in competition with one another in making boiler plates,

ship plates, angles, beams, girders, and other steel manufactures which are known as section work. In Sheffield, on the other hand, the industry is differentiated by the fact that it is mainly concerned with specialities, such as making tyres and axles, tool steel, steel for wire drawing, castings and forgings, as well as of course armour-plate making and gun-metal making. In South Wales the industry is almost exclusively devoted to making steel bars for tin plate and sheet making, though recently works were opened by Port Talbot for rails, plate, and general section work.

The men, generally speaking, are all paid per ton on metal produced, in South Wales more so than in any other part of the country. In South Wales, generally speaking, the labourers, in other words, the men who wheel up the pig iron and do such other work as is usually styled unskilled, are paid per ton. The men who make the gas-plant producers are also paid per ton; crane men have a day-wage rate plus a bonus. So far as engine-drivers of rolling-mill engines are concerned, they are paid on the same principle of a datal wage with a bonus. The result is that from the lowest to the highest men are being paid on results, and the best results are obtained—indeed, in twenty-five years there has never been a strike with an associated employer; the only labour troubles are caused by non-associated employers endeavouring to get lower wages than the standard fixed by the two Associations, and if it were suggested that the system of payment should be changed, the men would be the first to revolt.

The system of wage payment is different in various parts of the country. In South Wales, as stated, the wages are standard, and neither to rise nor fall, with

the qualification that in very exceptional circumstances the employers may go to the men to ask for a reduction. In Sheffield, as the work is specialised, the men find that the system of payment according to a sliding scale, based on the selling price per ton, would not pay them, so in this case also they have a datal wage, plus a bonus. Over the rest of the country wages fluctuate according to the selling price of steel, as a rule rising or falling  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. for each 5s. variation in the average price per ton. The men in the various districts are, as already stated, thoroughly satisfied, while one advantage of the Welsh district is claimed to be that the payment of a standard rate of wages enables contracts to be taken with greater certainty on the part of employers.

The chief negotiators in the metal trade world are: Mr. J. Atkinson, Secretary of the Cleveland Ironmasters' Association, who has been in the organisation for thirty years, and who last year succeeded the late Mr. John Dennington, who was even better known; Mr. John Hall, the energetic Secretary of the Cleveland Blast Furnacemen's Association; Mr. John Hodge, M.P. for the Gorton division of Lancashire, who was himself a practical worker at steel smelting, came to England from Glasgow at the end of the 'eighties, and is known from one end of the country to the other; Mr. James Cox, of Darlington, Secretary of the Associated Iron and Steel Workers, one of the oldest and best type of Trade Unionists in England; and Mr. J. Winpenny, Secretary of the North of England Iron and Steel Manufacturers' Association. Into the hands of these men comes much, if not most, of the arrangements for controlling the whole industry.

## CHAPTER XII

### THE SITUATION AMONG GENERAL LABOURERS

ATTACHED to nearly all the mechanical trades of the country are small armies of men who, for want of a better term, are described as labourers. Their duties are usually mainly subsidiary ones to the duties of mechanics attached to the various industries; but amongst the membership of the different Unions connected with the General Labourers are to be found many men who are dockers, packing-case makers, or workers at some business in which mechanics are not employed. Indeed, a general labourer may be said to be one who is willing to apply himself to any form of unskilled work which may present itself to him, and which offers a certain rate of remuneration.

The diverse nature of the duties to be performed by general labourers renders it impossible for any hard-and-fast rule to be laid down as to the rate of payment to be made to such men; but there are many distinctions drawn even in this class. For instance, builders' labourers are often members of a General Labourers' Union, but none the less do work which is sharply defined in character, and for which the conditions of service are laid down by agreement between employers and employed.

The casual and varying character of the work undertaken by men of this description renders it extremely difficult to form any exact estimate as to the number of men who would come under the designation of general labourer. It is quite possible that in the building trade of London alone there are over 120,000 men employed who, being below the status of mechanics, can only be described as labourers; and it is estimated that from ten to twelve thousand of such builders' labourers are members of the National Union of Gasworkers and General Labourers.

This National Union is affiliated to the National Transport Workers' Federation, and is the strongest body numerically amongst the labouring class. It was inaugurated in 1889, and its membership in 1912—it must be remembered that August 1911 to June 1912 has been a “boom” period amongst such Unions as the Gasworkers and General Labourers—is stated by the officials to be 90,000. In the North of England there is a National Amalgamated Union of Labour, which is generally presumed to have about 20,000 members, while another body in the same district, the Workers' Union, has, it is said, over 5,000 members. In the West of England there is a society known as the West of England and South Wales Operatives' Society, which has a membership of considerably over 50,000; and it may be estimated that the number of men, other than dockers, not entitled to join the Unions of skilled trades, who belong to one or other of the Labour Organisations which cater especially for them, is over 200,000, though one or two set-backs in the matter of strikes, disputes, etc., would at once reduce this very considerably indeed.

In London alone there are six Unions which have members who are labourers in the building trade. These are all connected with the body called the London Labourers' Council, which Council comprises delegates from these different Unions, and deals wholly with matters affecting the labourers working in the London building trade. The London Labourers' Council has received a modified recognition from the London Association of Master Builders, and similarly federations of Labourers' Unions, such as the General Labourers' National Council, conduct negotiations and settle points of difference with the various Federations of Employers attached to different trades all over the country.

During 1911 and 1912 there have been many suggestions as to the possibility of the amalgamation of all the different Unions containing general labourers, but so far little in the shape of a definite fusion has taken place. It is extremely unlikely that such Unions as the Dockers will ever effect a close amalgamation with Unions containing the ordinary general labourers amongst their numbers. There are too many subtle differences between the different grades and classes of employment, and too many jealousies respecting such differences, to render union easy or possible. As an example, it may be pointed out that a builder's labourer, finding employment fail at his usual task—say that of a bricklayer's labourer at 7*d.* an hour—might work for a time in the docks, returning to his usual employment when opportunity served. The docker, on the other hand, rarely if ever does this, but limits his energies solely to labour in the docks, and would not possess the knowledge and experience

necessary to enable him to act as a builder's labourer. Thus, though both dockers and builder's labourers are to be found in the General Labourers' Union, together with the labourers attached to numerous other trades, there is always a sharply drawn line between the different classes, and the various negotiations with employers on behalf of members, which daily become more common, tend, by the difference in their character, to emphasise this distinction.

Of late years there has been a strong tendency on the part of general labourers to secure a share of Parliamentary representation, and to-day the Gas-workers and General Labourers' Union alone have four members in Parliament whom they claim represent the interests of their society, namely, Mr. Will Thorne, their General Secretary, Mr. George Lansbury (himself an employer), Mr. J. R. Clynes, and Mr. J. Parker; while the secretary of the Workers' Union, Mr. J. Duncan, is also a member of Parliament.

Though none of the bodies dealing with general labour have a fixed and definite programme for which they are working, yet the aim of all is towards a general reduction of working hours and an improvement in wages. † Socialism amongst general labourers is very common, and is largely on the increase; and there is little doubt that if this section as a whole were better organised they would cause considerable trouble.

The agricultural labourer, although belonging to one of the largest industries in the country, is hardly organised at all. He possesses two small Trade Unions, confined to the eastern counties, and chiefly owing their vitality to the work of Joseph Arch. His wages vary considerably, but are the lowest in the country



for unskilled work, although he enjoys extra privileges. His average rates of cash wages are, according to counties: Northern, 18s. 8d.; North and West Midlands, 15s. 5d.; South Midland and Eastern, 13s. 5d.; South-Eastern, 15s. 4d.; South-Western, 13s. 6d.; Yorkshire, Lancashire, and Cheshire, 17s. 9d. The extra privileges amount to the value of 2s. or 3s. more a week. In Wales the average weekly cash earning is 17s.; in Ireland, 10s. 3d.; in Scotland, 14s. 4d. An agitation has recently been started for a minimum weekly wage of £1; but no effort has been made to show how this can economically be paid. It has also been suggested by some workers that "agriculture" should be regarded as a "sweated industry" and come under the operation of the Trade Boards Act.

There are other aspects of agricultural life which merit attention besides that of wages. The housing question is so acute that many people favour the compulsory expropriation of land round or near the villages, and the entire transformation of village life, which should be made more interesting and more diversified. The system of purchase employed by the labourer in respect to practically all the commodities he needs, is moreover, wasteful, since the prices are usually well above the normal market rates.

There is no leader among the agricultural labourers who is either well known or who speaks with authority. Mr. Joseph Arch is no longer able to agitate and Mr. George Nicholls, who is an agricultural labourer and who sat for North Northamptonshire (1906-10), is only known in East Anglia and the South Midlands.

## CHAPTER XIII

### THE BUILDING TRADE

THE building trade is a trade of striking contrasts. It is at once a trade in which large fortunes are made by employers, and in which there occurs also a very large number of bankruptcies. In short, the building industry, almost more than any other, is a speculative industry, both for employers and employed.

Though the oldest of the trades, it is only within the last hundred years or so that master builders have existed as we know them to-day. Formerly buildings were erected by the joint combination of the master mason, the master bricklayer, the master carpenter, and the master plumber, whilst decorations and adornments and all supplementary work were undertaken by the servants of master craftsmen in other branches. The tendency to centralise responsibility and to avoid waste led to the development of what is practically a middle man, whose business it is to take the place of the various master craftsmen formerly engaged. This middle man is the builder as we know him to-day, and he is usually a man of very considerable practical knowledge and sound business instincts.

In the early days of the master builder many great firms were formed which earned fame for the excellence

of the work carried out by them, and secured such a position that they were practically free from the necessity of undertaking work of a competitive character. At the present day very few such firms are left, and those which still survive find that they have to conduct some of their business on lines similar to those adopted by their rivals.

The builders of the United Kingdom are to-day, therefore, divided into three classes:

(1) Firms who undertake commission work or contract work only.

(2) Firms who combine contract work with speculative work.

(3) Firms who undertake speculative work only.

The first two classes are the highest, and their businesses are the least liable to the fluctuations from which speculators suffer. Certain firms there are in London and other large towns whose reputation stands so high that work is entrusted to them on what is termed a schedule of prices. This commission work is, however, rarely sufficient to keep such firms fully employed, and accordingly they are forced at times to tender for contract work. Here again the field is subdivided, for persons who desire that their building work may be exceedingly well done, and yet wish to have the control of cost which a contract renders possible, will often put their work up to tender, limiting, however, the competition to certain known firms whom their architects represent as being sure to give work of the character desired. Certain firms there are who limit their activities to the work given on commission and secured through such limited competition, and they would not attempt to compete seriously for the ordinary

contract work. As a rule these firms, though engaged in the highest branch of the trade, pay rather more attention to the excellence of the work and material supplied by them than to economy; and it follows, therefore, that while their relations with their work-people are of the best, this class of builder is very limited in its number. In days gone by such firms did a certain amount of speculative work of a very high character. In the days when the builder as we know him at the present time was rare, the assistance of banks in regard to the lending of money could be obtained more easily and readily than it can be to-day, and with London and other large cities in the making it was possible for these high-class firms to acquire land in good positions and erect thereon offices, mansions, and houses of a very fine type, which were built as a speculation only. Many of the buildings in the City and West End of London were erected on this principle, the firms responsible for the work making huge fortunes. At the present time such firms limit their speculative work almost entirely to the acquisition of sites suitable for commercial buildings and the erection thereon of great blocks of offices.

The second class of builders referred to—and the words “second class” are used in no derogatory sense—are engaged chiefly in contract work. They take their contracts at a very low price indeed, so low, in fact, that their profit is derived almost entirely from “extras,” and to a certain extent from trade discounts. Prompt payments for material enable them to secure these discounts, and the volume of work done by them is so considerable that during the year the capital expended on material practically amounts to such a

turnover of the capital in the business as to provide by means of discount a profit of 10 per cent. These firms do very excellent work, though it lacks, perhaps, in some respects, the finish of the work done by the firms before described. It is necessary, however, that their plant and yards should always be kept fully occupied, so many of them engage in speculative work to supplement the work done on contract. This speculative work is of a varying character, consisting of the development of estates which differ considerably in their nature. Thus, one well-known London builder has been responsible for the erection of much good property of an expensive description in North London, while another prominent firm have, in the interval of carrying out big Government and other important buildings, developed a working-class estate in the south-west of London. Economy in production is the keynote of such firms' methods; and the fact that they hold these estates to develop as opportunity serves enables them to keep their machinery and men always occupied, so that they never have to meet standing charges for which they can secure no return; but it is easy to see that they would find it impossible to grant large concessions to their men during the progress of big contracts.

The third class of builder is the speculating builder pure and simple, and with a few exceptions the men engaged in this work are, in a sense, the lowest type of all in the building trade. No large amount of capital is required in the ordinary speculative work. If a mechanic can satisfy a financier who has land to develop that he is a capable man at his business, he can always secure advances which will enable him to develop

such an estate. The advances, however, are nowadays so limited and so hedged about with restrictions and taxed in the matter of interest, that it is next door to impossible for a speculating builder of this sort to avoid the bankruptcy courts if he acts honestly. These builders are mostly engaged in the erection of houses for the working and lower middle classes, and it is remarkable what they can offer for a small sum of money. The men who work for the latter class are usually known as “field-rangers,” and are much looked down upon by the employees of the builders of higher repute. Much of the work done by the “field-rangers” is done piece-work, and the ordinary agreements as to hours and conditions are often ignored by those engaged.

The number of persons employed in the building trade and in works of construction throughout Great Britain is probably to-day nearly 1,400,000, the principal trades being carpenters and joiners, bricklayers, plasterers, masons, plumbers, electricians, smiths and ironworkers, wood machinists, and painters, to each group of which is attached a large number of unskilled labourers. Trade-union organisation is not nearly so good in the building trade as it is in other more centralised industries. This is no doubt due to the fluctuating and variable nature of employment, the various groups of men engaged in different shops and on different jobs being generally scattered in all directions at the conclusion of any important work.

During the past few years the trade in London has undergone a considerable change, the introduction of the ferro-concrete system being responsible for this. Within the last two or three years this alteration has

been spreading to the Provinces—large cities like Manchester and Sheffield having also shown a tendency to adopt the new order. By the introduction of the ferro-concrete system bricklayers have lost much of their work, masons are required simply to put the outer skin on the structure; plasterers have secured some additions, while the character of the work of the carpenter has changed entirely, and ironworkers have become important factors. It is quite possible that this alteration will during the next few years lead to many minor disputes, for the question of the demarcation of the work of different trades is now to a considerable extent in a state of flux. What the carpenters have lost in regard to floors, fixing of sashes, making of wooden roofs, etc., they have recovered in some degree by constructing the forms used in giving definition to the concrete work; and it is very evident that they will strive their hardest to retain control of this branch, which is far rougher and dirtier in its character than any work which they were formerly called upon to do. On the other hand, there is a growing tendency on the part of the plasterers to secure as much of the concrete work, other than the preparation necessary by the woodworker, as they can do for themselves, the net result being that the bricklayer is gradually, on the larger building of the modern type, being squeezed out altogether.

In other respects, too, the customs of the trade have changed considerably during the last decade. Practically every joiner's shop of any size in a town is now equipped with a comprehensive plant of woodworking machinery, rendered necessary by the fact that buildings to-day are erected in considerably less time than

## 190 BUILDING TRADE ORGANISATIONS

they were twenty years ago. As a result, a considerable proportion of the men employed in the joinery trade are engaged now in simple repetition duties which do not demand anything like the individual skill which was needed under the old order of things, while the duration of jobs has automatically been gradually shortened. This shortening of jobs, and consequent more frequent scattering of men, militates against the possibilities of perfect trade-union organisation, and it is not surprising to learn therefore that the total membership of trade unions in the building trade is decreasing, and at the present time is not much more than 15 per cent. of the total numbers engaged, though, of course, the proportion of Union men in the towns is very much larger. Builders' labourers belong to a diverse number of Unions, and it is very difficult to obtain exact figures in respect of this class.

Notwithstanding this, the trade has in certain sections a very complete and comprehensive system of Conciliation Boards, covering in the one instance masons, bricklayers, carpenters and joiners, in another operative plasterers, and in a third instance the plumbers. Usually, it may be said, most agreements reached by these Conciliation Boards, which result in an alteration of conditions, have some effect upon the conditions of the allied trades. The rules of the Conciliation Boards governing the masons, bricklayers, and joiners have been slightly amended this year; but generally they are the same as those originally agreed to by a sub-committee of employers and operatives in Manchester at the close of 1904. Any question or dispute relating to hours of labour, rates of wages,



working rules, and demarcation of work that may arise is dealt with first by the Joint Local Trades Committee, consisting, as do all the bodies of the Conciliation Boards of the building trade, of an equal representation of the employers and operatives, the operatives' representation on the Local Trades Committee, however, being limited to the particular trade affected. If the Local Committee fail to reach an agreement within fourteen days, the case is, unless it is mutually arranged that the period of first consideration shall be longer, referred to the Local Conciliation Board for the district, which must meet within ten days. Failing a settlement by the Local Conciliation Boards, the Central Conciliation Board must meet within the same period of time as is set down in the earlier stages. On the failure of a Central Board, either party to a dispute can, within seven days, demand that the matter be considered by the National Board, which must meet and consider within ten days. Rule 16 of the Conciliation Boards enables any of the Boards, by mutual and unanimous consent of the two parties, to order a dispute to be submitted to arbitration, the arbitrator's decision in such case being final and binding. Six months' notice in writing is required on either side before an agreement can be terminated. The building trade throughout England and Wales is, for the purpose of these Boards, divided into centres, each of which is subdivided into districts. The four centres are the Northern Centre (comprising the Northern Counties Federation, the Yorkshire Federation, and the Lancashire, Cheshire, and North Wales Federation), the Midland Centre, South-Eastern Centre, and the South-Western Centre,

The other chief Conciliation Board scheme is known as the "General Rules" governing the work of plasterers. Under these rules the employers and the plasterers agree by mutual consent not to exercise coercion on workmen, forcing them to leave or to join Trade Unions. In the event of a dispute the question at issue is considered by a Local Joint Committee of Employers and Plasterers, and, failing a settlement, is referred to a Standing Joint Committee of Appeal, and until this latter Committee has met and discussed the grievance no strike or lock-out shall be sanctioned by any of the parties concerned. Under Rule 6 it is practically agreed that members of the National Association of Operative Plasterers have the right to refuse to work with men who do not belong to a Trade Union, providing such men are defaulters or men who, it has been shown to the satisfaction of the employers, have made themselves specially objectionable to the Union men. The Plumbers form practically a close corporation, and their Board has power to select umpires, or to call upon the London Chamber of Commerce for such a selection.

At no time in the building trade has Trade Unionism been strong enough to insist that employers should engage only Union workmen, though in certain Northern towns, notably at Leeds, local disputes have arisen on this point. Such a question has never been submitted to the consideration of a building-trades Conciliation Board, the men holding the view similar to that held by the members of other Unions, that the question is purely one of domestic discipline. In towns where Trade Unionism is strong in the building trade it has been found possible, even amongst the carpenters and

joiners, to appoint shop and job stewards whose duty it is to ascertain whether each man employed has his Union ticket. Should a non-Unionist be found to be present it is the duty of this steward to endeavour to persuade the man to join the Union, and if he fails in his efforts he is supposed to call on the walking delegate, who covers the entire town or district, to see if he can prevail upon the recalcitrant. Often it happens that the walking delegate succeeds where the local steward fails, because the influence of such a delegate extends far beyond the particular shop or job where the man may be employed, and a man who desires to remain peaceably in a district rarely feels he is strong enough to fight against the attentions which the delegate, by virtue of his position, is able to assure him.

The general tendency throughout the country during the past few years has been for wages to increase and the hours of labour to be reduced. As has been pointed out, an improvement in conditions of one section of the building trade generally results in similar improvement being secured by other branches, and it is worth noting, therefore, that during the early summer of 1912 carpenters and joiners have secured increases in the following places:

Ashton District . . . .	$\frac{1}{2}d.$ per hour increase, working hours reduced.
Bath . . . . .	$\frac{1}{2}d.$ per hour increase.
Cardiff District . . . .	$\frac{1}{2}d.$ per hour increase, and other concessions.
Cheltenham . . . . .	$\frac{1}{4}d.$ per hour increase.
Dewsbury . . . . .	$\frac{1}{2}d.$ per hour increase.
Gosport . . . . .	$\frac{1}{2}d.$ per hour increase.
Grays . . . . .	1d. per hour increase in two instalments.

## 194 BUILDING TRADE AND FEDERATION

Hull District . . . . .	$\frac{1}{2}d.$ per hour increase in two instalments. Reductions of hours. (All sections of the building trades.)
Leeds District . . . . .	$\frac{1}{2}d.$ per hour increase. Other concessions.
Newport . . . . .	$\frac{1}{2}d.$ per hour increase. Other concessions.
Portsmouth . . . . .	$\frac{1}{2}d.$ per hour increase. Other concessions.
Potteries, Newcastle and District	$\frac{1}{2}d.$ per hour increase in two instalments.
Rawthenstall . . . . .	$\frac{1}{2}d.$ per hour increase.
Redditch and Spen Valley . . .	$\frac{1}{2}d.$ per hour increase.
Stockport . . . . .	$\frac{1}{2}d.$ per hour increase.

Sutton Coldfield, Brechin, Dunfermline, and Edinburgh districts have also secured a  $\frac{1}{2}d.$  an hour rise.

It can thus be seen that the movement for increased wages was, to a certain extent, a national one, for London moved for, and has secured, an advance at the same time. The advance in London was  $1d.$ , made in two instalments; but it is expressly agreed upon by employers and employed that the fact that a man is not a member of the Union shall not affect him in any way.

With the tendency to federation which has been seen lately it is little wonder that there has been some attempt made to federate the Trade Unions of the building trade. There is in London, at the present time, a minor federation known as the London Building Industries Federation, while there are other town and district federations, chiefly in the North of England. Lately the Operative Bricklayers' Society has been responsible for an endeavour to promote a federation of Trade Unions in the building trades on a much

larger scale, advancing their theories and desires in this direction at the last Trades Union Congress. The Parliamentary Committee of that body convened a Conference, and, accordingly, representatives of each Union met during June of 1912 in Manchester and formulated resolutions favourable to federation, which, if approved, will have to be submitted to be balloted upon by members of the various Unions affected before anything can be done in the shape of a federation on a large scale. So keen is the jealousy amongst the various sections engaged in this industry, however, that it is extremely unlikely that anything will be done for a very long time.

The employers will not wait until the men's federation is an accomplished fact before taking steps to form a combination which would be enabled to act effectively against such a combination as the men propose, and already the idea of a confederation of the various employers' associations throughout the country has been considered and discussed.

There is one peculiarity about the building trade, which is shared to a large extent by the engineering, which might well be copied by the employers in other industries in which the men engaged are not highly organised. This is, that when an agreement is made by an association of employers governing conditions and wages throughout a certain district, practically every employer, whether a member of the local association or not, observes the terms of the agreement.

It may be mentioned that there is practically a general programme before all the workers in the building trade of a forty-eight-hour week, with an advance in hourly wages which would make the weekly wage

equal to the weekly wage at present paid. In London the average number of hours worked throughout the year is already less than forty-eight, but the tendency is to work towards a further reduction. In former years local strikes were very common in the building trade, but latterly there has been a disposition on the part of the men to prefer the intervention of the Conciliation Board before withdrawing labour. This trade is, on the average, quite the best paid of the larger industries, and it is estimated that the amount paid each year in wages to persons engaged in the building trade of Great Britain is over £80,000,000. As it is estimated that the total charges of building construction represent roughly 50 per cent. for labour and 50 per cent. for material, this would mean that the total value of the work done in twelve months would approximate to £160,000,000, of which quite two-thirds is expended in wages. Though, as has been pointed out, the trade is, in a certain sense, in a state of flux, there is little possibility of any serious trouble, save perhaps in the case of the carpenters and joiners who work in the shipyards, all of whom are members of a Trade Union, and a fair number of whom are Socialists or even Syndicalists and far less amenable to reasonable discussion than men engaged outside the yards.

## CHAPTER XIV

### WOMEN WORKERS

THERE are 17,448,476 women in the United Kingdom, according to the census of 1911. The total number of women actually employed, either in whole or in part, in earning their livelihood, has never been closely defined, because it is always questionable whether a census can be relied on in a matter like this, since many females who make a few shillings a week only regard it as pin-money, and do not return themselves as occupied. The census of 1911 is not available for detailed figures; but according to the census of 1901 there were 1,057,968 girls between ten and twenty returned as occupied in the aggregate of urban districts in the United Kingdom; from twenty to twenty-five, there were 782,356, and thereafter the total falls rapidly. For one girl employed then there are probably two employed now. These figures should be kept in mind when one remembers that the National Federation of Women Workers, which is the leading Trade Union for Women, has only 12,000 members. The reasons usually given for this are: (1) that women are poor organisers, and (2) that they earn such very low wages that they cannot pay even the small charges which their various Trade Unions fix. As in the men's

world, where there is a trade-union movement and a political movement, so also is it in the women's. The Women's Labour League, with a membership of probably a few thousands only, is a political organisation, not a trade-unionist. It is affiliated to the Labour Party, but carries on its propagandist work among women, helping now this movement and now that, according as circumstances dictate. It supports the same proposals as the Labour Party, and indeed suggests many of them, about which it has expert knowledge, such as the feeding of children. It supports the claim of woman to possess the same rights of citizenship as men, and it takes an active part in municipal and local work. On the other hand, the National Federation of Women Workers is perpetually campaigning in support of better working terms for the sex, and has in this capacity played quite a prominent rôle in various districts in England, more particularly in regard to the jam and biscuit industries. Up to the present, the supporters of the Union are drawn from the poorest classes, save in Lancashire, where there is a strong factory membership. There is as yet no indication that better-paid women are disposed to take any part in the work. The largest number of occupied women are of course domestic servants; then come those employed in the clothing trades and the textile trades, in food, tobacco, drink, and lodging. Both charwomen and laundry workers number more than 100,000 each. The textile trades are the best paid—wages ranging from about 13*s.* to 19*s.* The clothing trades are less well paid, the average figure being about 14*s.* A very large percentage earn less than 10*s.* a week, and the figures



in general show that a woman's wages amount, roughly speaking, to one-half those of a man.

The Trade Boards Act was of course passed primarily, if not exclusively, in the interests of women, and in the hope of accelerating its extension to other industries; an inquiry is now being privately carried on into the wages of women in six of the unclassified clothing trades—dressmaking (workshop and factory), shirt making, blouse making, making of underclothing, corset making, and laundries.<sup>1</sup>

It will therefore be seen that women's organisation is not yet sufficiently strong to exercise much concerted effect on the conditions of employment except in the case of individual factories. (See Appendix.)

The two most prominent organisers on the women's side are Miss Mary MacArthur, of the Trade Union Branch—who, although she is married to Mr. W. C. Anderson, the well-known Labour leader, still prefers to be called by her maiden name—and Miss Margaret Bondfield, of the Labour League. Mrs. Bruce Glasier is moreover almost as well known. The two first ladies are both excellent speakers and organisers, and Miss MacArthur is specially consulted by the Government in regard to Insurance matters. The most advanced woman worker is probably Mrs. Despard, an earnest thinker and a fine speaker.

<sup>1</sup> The principal trades in which home work is carried on are: wearing apparel (making, cleaning and washing); lace, lace curtains and nets; artificial flowers; nets other than wire nets; tents; sacks; furniture and upholstery; fur pulling; feather sorting; umbrellas, etc.; carding, etc., of buttons, etc.; paper bags and boxes; baskets; brushes; racquet and tennis balls; stuffed toys; files; electro-plate; cables and chains; cart gear; locks, latches and keys; and pea picking.

## CHAPTER XV

### THE MISCELLANEOUS TRADES

THE trades usually defined under the heading of "miscellaneous trades," though employing an enormous number of people, are rarely well organised, and practically, in the majority of cases, have to accept such terms of employment as the employer chooses to offer, or as the laws of supply and demand establish. Even amongst shop assistants and clerks, organisation is at a very low ebb, while in such huge industries as the making of confectionery there is practically no effective combination of workers, though confectioners are, it is true, admitted to certain of the bakers' Unions. The latter have a definite programme, embodying demands for shorter hours and increased wages, together with certain regulation of night work, concerning which there may be one or two minor strikes, principally in the London area.

Certain of the industries represented under the term "miscellaneous trades" have been so badly affected by foreign competition that it would be hopeless for the workers to demand improved conditions, even if they could enforce them, for the simple reason that the industries could not give improvement and live at all. None the less, in such trades as the glass trade, unrest

is plentiful, and Socialism is undoubtedly on the increase, though there is little possibility of any trade disturbance which would result in a protracted struggle. The following is a résumé of the position in the minor trades which have strong Trade Unions and in which there is unrest.

### THE BAKING TRADE

The agitation in the bakers' trade is now particularly keen, and there is no doubt, so far as the London district is concerned, that when the Union of Operative Bakers and Confectioners finds itself strong enough—in other words, has enough members—it will definitely proceed to action on the following lines, which form its platform of hours and wages :

1. Hours to be 54 per week, including one hour per day for meals. In cases where less than nine hours per day are worked in the earlier portion of the week, *not more than two hours of the accrued shortage shall be worked in the latter portion as part of the ordinary time.* Any excess of the two hours to be recognised as overtime.

2. Wages: foremen (not more than three men employed), 38s. per week; more than three and not over five, 42s.; all over five, not less than 48s.; second hands, 32s., 36s., and 40s., according to above-mentioned number of hands; scotch fores or single hands, 34s. per week; ovenmen in factories, 35s. Small-goods men (*i.e.* biscuit bakers and pastrycooks): foremen (not more than two employed), 38s. per week; more than two and not over four, 42s.; all over four, not less than 48s. All other adult workmen: shops, 30s.; factories, 32s.

No reduction in wages to be made where present rates exceed above minimum scales.

3. Juvenile labour (*i.e.* between 18 and 21 years of age), 26*s.* per week. Not more than one of this class to be allowed in any one shop, and in factories not more than one in ten.

4. Overtime to be paid at time and a half on above rates.

5. Sunday labour: All Sunday work other than that necessary for the production of Monday's bread shall be paid at double time.

6. Jobbers per day of nine hours (including one hour for meals): foremen, 7*s.*; other hands, 6*s.*, with the exception of Good Friday bun work, for which they shall receive not less than 1*s.* per hour.

7. Meal times: The first break, which must not be of less than 30 minutes, must be before the fifth hour from commencing work for all workmen included in this platform.

Elsewhere in the country the men are not so well organised, and any concerted action is unlikely.

### TAILORING

The tailoring trade, in many of the chief districts of the British Isles, has changed its character enormously during the past thirty years. Prior to that period employees in the tailoring trade were, to a considerable extent, British born and trained; but, consequent upon a strike which occurred, foreigners, who in the first instance came to this country to work as "blacklegs" in London, were introduced, with the result that the bespoke tailoring trade at the present time is largely, so far as the workers are concerned, in the hands of foreigners and Jews.

The bespoke "tailor" is the aristocrat of the clothing trade; the average of wages earned—men, women, boys,

and girls being over 22s. per week. In the ready-made trade the average earnings of all sections is only 14s. 8d. per week, though in the ready-made figures are included the earnings of the section known as "cutters," who are often, in the bespoke trade, paid very high salaries indeed. Tailoring is usually done on a system of time piece-work; a "log" being used which allows a certain period of time for different operations in the making of clothes, and fixes a certain rate of payment for a "log" hour. It does not follow that because a certain operation is entered in the log as one hour's work that it necessarily takes one hour to perform. All that is established is that the worker has the right to charge for such service as one log hour's work, and to receive the pay for one log hour, even though he can crowd work for which the log allows two hours into one sixty minutes.

All over the country there are Associations of Master and Merchant Tailors. These associations usually determine the nature of the log and the wages to be paid under such log by arrangement with their work-people, whether through the medium of a Trade Union or otherwise. These logs vary all over the United Kingdom, save in Scotland, where there is a national time statement, fixing the time uniformly for the whole of Scotland. In the London West End Ladies' Tailoring Trade payment is by time wage and not by log hour, the standards of wages being from 11d. to 1s. 1¼d. per hour.

In London there is a Conciliation Board which usually deals with disputes, the parties to this Board being the Association of London Master Tailors and the two Unions, the Amalgamated Society of Tailors

and the London Society of Tailors and Tailoresses. (The latter body was formed in 1905 by a few seceders from the Amalgamated Society—a society having its head-quarters in Manchester—and was responsible for the unconstitutional strike of 1912, on which occasion conciliatory methods were ignored.) In the chief centres of the provinces, though there are no Conciliation Boards, there are usually Committees of Employers and Workpeople; and, in some places, committees of reference for the express purpose of settling questions in dispute.

Tailoring, in certain sections, is one of the sweated industries, and wages, in the majority of such cases, are much lower than the Board of Trade figures would suggest. Save in the big factories, where ready-made clothing is produced by means largely mechanical, the greater amount of tailoring work is done by out-workers. A man, working at home, often employing a number of women and other workers, receives the contract price according to the log for work done; and as he never pays his women employees the amount to which he is entitled under the log, such men often take comparatively large sums for doing very little work.

The London tailors' strike of 1912 was nominally called to remedy this evil, its organisers protesting, amongst other things, that they were desirous of securing proper workshop accommodation for all employees. It is very questionable whether the provision of such workshop accommodation would not have been very embarrassing to the greater number of the working tailors of London, who would in workshops most probably speedily find that the profit which they made upon their female

labour would be transferred either to the women themselves or to the employer. Many of those who went on strike did not understand this, their knowledge of English being of the scantiest, and certain it is that, if the Society of Tailors and Tailoresses had succeeded in gaining this point, they would very speedily have lost a considerable proportion of their members.

The Amalgamated Society of Tailors and Tailoresses, a body with a membership of about 12,000, declined to support the London society in the dispute, as they were at the time engaged in negotiations, through the London Conciliation Board, for certain revisions of the log, and they regarded, rightly or wrongly, the action of the junior society as being chiefly an attempt to usurp their position in the London trade. Many of their members, however, made common cause with the members of the London society, and, thanks to the methods of "peaceful picketing" employed, the entire West End trade was stopped, and later a considerable portion of the trade in other districts.

Generally speaking, the foreign element amongst the tailors, and the keen competition existing amongst the members of this foreign element, militate strongly against the growth of Trade Unionism in this trade. Many of the Unions which are formed from time to time have an existence of but a few months, and only the Amalgamated Society referred to and the Scottish Society of Operative Tailors are really strong bodies. Strikes, therefore, though at times fairly frequent, rarely have any backbone in them, and really the industry is dealt with chiefly under the powers granted by the Trade Boards Act. From August 19, 1912, a minimum rate of 6*d.* per hour for male workers in the ready-made

and wholesale bespoke tailoring trade is established, the weekly wages of male learners being also fixed at the following figures: Under fifteen years, 4*s.* 2*d.*; fifteen to sixteen years, 6*s.* 3*d.*; sixteen to seventeen years, 8*s.* 4*d.*; seventeen to eighteen years, 11*s.* 6*d.*; eighteen to nineteen years, 14*s.* 7*d.*; nineteen to twenty years, 17*s.* 8*d.*; twenty to twenty-one years, 19*s.* 10*d.*; twenty-one to twenty-two years, 21*s.* 11*d.*; the week for male learners is fixed at fifty hours.

In the dressmaking branch of the clothing trade there is practically no organisation of the women workers strong enough to affect the relations between employers and workers.

#### TRAMWAY WORKERS

The tramway workers of Great Britain, though essentially connected with the transport trade, have persistently declined to be associated with the Transport Workers' Federation. The chief body in connection with tramway work is the Amalgamated Association of Tramway and Vehicle Workers, which has its head offices at Manchester. This association was formed in 1889 and now numbers some 22,000 members, and has over £45,000 in funds.

In these days, when speedy and cheap means of passenger transport are of greater importance than ever before, the tramway men constitute, though comparatively few in number, a very important factor in the working of large cities. In London, Manchester and district, Leeds and Sheffield and other Yorkshire districts, Bristol, and Glasgow and its suburbs, trams play a very important part in the ordering of the lives of the working classes; in the case of the English cities and



districts at least the predominant body in respect to the controlling of disputes in the Manchester society before mentioned.

Early in May, 1912, one of the few disputes which have occurred in connection with tramway work took place at Stalybridge. The trams there are partly the property of the Corporation, a private company also owning some interest, but there were several factors which make the progress of the dispute in question of particular interest.

The origin of the trouble was the discharge of two men. The Union men objected to these men being discharged, and accordingly came out on strike. Stalybridge is one of those big industrial towns which are really suburbs or extensions of Manchester. It is a town which has very few visitors indeed from the outside world. As a consequence its trams depend entirely upon the working classes living in the neighbourhood—who use them to get to and from their work—for their support. Practically all the workers of Stalybridge are Trade Unionists, and the result of the declaration of the strike was that though the Corporation and the company each found it possible to put one or two vehicles upon their metals, they found it impossible to persuade any of their usual public to ride in such trams.

The result was that, after a strike lasting five weeks, the Corporation were compelled to give in. They did not, it is true, reinstate the two men over whom the dispute occurred, but they agreed to make a monetary payment to these men which was more than equivalent to the wages they had lost, and further, undertook to find them a job within a fortnight, or failing that, to pay them their wages in full. Local Trade Unionists

in other trades were appointed to decide the question as to whether the situations offered to the two men were suitable, and, in fact, the whole settlement was of such an extraordinary character that it is worth giving in full, as showing the possibilities of coercion in industrial districts where Trade Unionists are in the majority. Here are the terms of the settlement reached on June 13, 1912:

“That the manager shall be recommended to meet representatives of the men to discuss any grievance which may arise from time to time out of their employment; failing a satisfactory settlement the men to have the right to send a deputation to meet the Tramways Committee, which should meet within seven days of their request; the whole of the men at present on strike to return to work at once; that the discharged men Oldham and Howe be paid £10 each, and if, on June 27, the two men are not at work, they be paid full wages until they obtain work or until the Tramways Committee find them positions elsewhere. Should any dispute arise on the question of what is a suitable situation, the question shall be submitted to the Mayor of Dukinfield and Messrs. Carr, Judson, and Farr [well-known Trade Union officials] for settlement. It is definitely understood that when such situations are obtained the Tramways Committee is relieved of any further responsibility with regard to these men. This arrangement is not to be taken as a precedent in any future case.”

In London—which, after all, is the most important tramway centre in the country—the London County Council, the chief owner of trams, established a scheme of Conciliation Boards early in 1910. This scheme followed very closely the lines laid down by the Con-

ciliation Boards Act of 1907 for the railways, since set aside by the action of the Royal Commission appointed in 1911, for it provided for the discussion of all points of difference—first by a Sectional Board; secondly, failing agreement, by a Central Board; and in the event of an agreement not even then being reached, an Independent Arbitrator is to be asked to give a decision which shall be final and binding. It is significant that, up to the middle of 1912, it has never been found necessary even to call the Central Board together, all disputes being settled in discussion by the Sectional Boards.

Huddersfield is another town where there is a direct Conciliation Board composed of representatives of the Corporation and the Trade Union. An Independent Arbitrator can be called in under the constitution of this Huddersfield Board if a settlement is not reached otherwise. During the nine years in which the Board has been in existence it has only met once prior to June 24, 1912, when a meeting was summoned for the consideration of a minor dispute.

The Glasgow Tramway Workers, who are a very considerable body, are affiliated to the Municipal Employees' Association, but others of the tramway workers in towns which have a smaller system, such as Llanelly, are members of the Dockers' Union, and therefore, in such instances, affiliated to the Transport Workers' Federation. These smaller tramway services are usually the property of private companies and not of the Corporation, and disputes between such companies and their servants are far more common than is usual in the case of Corporation tramways.

The present outlook in the tramway world is dis-

tinctly good, as, though there is a tendency towards Socialism on the part of many of those employed, the comparatively good wages paid and the number of old servants employed exercise a very strong influence against the possibilities of united action.

#### BOOTS AND SHOES

The boot and shoe trade, which is in a very flourishing condition, is one of the best organised in the country. Its Union is very strong, embracing 36,000 members and representing two-thirds of the men in the industry, if one excepts the small private firms employing very few hands. The industry, on any scale, is confined to Leicester, Northampton, Kettering, and the immediate districts, and to Edinburgh and Manchester, the two last-named centres dealing merely with hand-sewn (governed by special rates) as against the machine-made article. Practically all the work, which is closely subdivided, is by the piece, although there is a tendency, favoured by the Trade Unions, to agree to the payment of a weekly wage based on quantitative allowances.

The main trade is governed by a General Agreement (1895), which provided that "no strike or lock-out shall be entered into on the part of any body of workmen, members of the National Union, or any manufacturer represented on any local Board of Arbitration," and that "if any provision of this Agreement, or of an award, agreement, or decision, be broken by any manufacturer or body of workmen belonging to the Federation, or the National Union, and the Federation, or National Union, fail within ten days either to induce such members to comply with the agreement, decision,

or award (or to expel them from their organisation), the Federation, or the National Union, shall be deemed to have broken the agreement, award, or decision."

In addition, these "Terms of Settlement" provided that, with the object of furnishing financial guarantees for duly carrying out the provisions of this Agreement, and existing and future awards, agreements, and decisions of boards, arbitrators, or umpires, a scheme should at once be prepared for depositing money in the hands of trustees.

In 1909 this Agreement was slightly varied; the words marked above in brackets were eliminated, while the word "four" was substituted for the word "ten," as the period within which striking men have to be back at work. This was a three years' agreement till July 1, 1912, but neither side has as yet given the necessary six months' notice to terminate or vary it. It is, however, possible—indeed probable—that the men will move in the near future.

All the various chief centres at which boots and shoes are made are governed by local lists of scheduled prices for specific sections of work, and these are based on a minimum-wage rate of 30s. The Board of Trade figures for 1912 show that while this rate is general in Northampton, Leicester, Edinburgh, and other well-organised districts, it is distinctly less elsewhere, being only about 26s. in Manchester, alike for clickers, pressmen, lasters on time-work, and finishers on time-work, while in not a few towns it is only 28s. Again, in the well-organised towns the weekly working rate is 52½ hours. In most other districts it rises to 54, and even to 55, although at Bishop Auckland it is 48. The Men's Union is now planning a campaign in favour

## 212 MONEY PENALTIES IN PRACTICE

of a general working week of 48 hours, a general minimum wage of 35s., instead of 30s., the abolition of overtime—even now it is being checked by action of the workers themselves—and further regulation of boys and youths in proportion to men employed. At present three boys are employed to every man, in all shops where there are over seven men.

As the present rates of wages and fixing of the hours of labour in relation to machine work depend on the Agreement of 1895, under which joint committees of representatives of masters and men, with an umpire, were appointed “to determine the principles and methods of arrangement and classification on which piece-work statements for machine workers should be based according to localities,” it is obvious that to produce a modification of the understanding enforced for the last three years notice will have to be given to determine the Agreement.

As regards the working of this Agreement, it has been satisfactory, except that the men complain that there are a number of employers not inside the Federation and not bound by its regulations, and that some employers in the Federation, but with different branches, do not always loyally carry out the undertaking into which they have entered. There have been quite a number of small strikes; at one time in 1912 there were twelve different ones in Northampton alone. In all these cases the men went back before the end of the four days, with one exception, but as the circumstances were unusual, the Union was not penalised. In the course of the life of the Agreement the men have been penalised some ten to twelve times, and the employers about twice. The fine is not taken out of

the deposit of £1,000 made by each side, but is paid by cheque out of current account.<sup>1</sup> No doubt there is an upward tendency in the wages of workers in the boot trade, but the system enables both sides very carefully to check the capacity of each individual worker, and perhaps therefore the men who have passed their best time of life suffer. It should be stated that the employers are obliged to start each boy on coming of age at the 30s. a week minimum, and there is, by the way, some complaint of occasional breaches of this understanding. On the whole, however, the men have little cause of grievance.

The chief figure in the boot and shoe trade world is Mr. E. L. Poulton, the Secretary of the Men's Union, who is on the Industrial Council. He is one of the very ablest organisers of the older school of Trade Unionists.

### THE PRINTING INDUSTRY

The printing and allied trades constitute a very important section of the work of the country, providing, as they do, the chief and almost the only means of publicity available. The number of persons actually engaged as workers in the printing trade and subsidiary industries is somewhere about 350,000, whilst the number of employers in the United Kingdom is about 7,000.

Printers, both employers and employed, are, on the whole, a well-organised body, though only a small proportion of the men are in Trade Unions. The most important of the employers' associations is the Federation of Master Printers and Allied Trades of the

<sup>1</sup> Altogether £688 has been forfeited by the Union and £10 by the Federation in the period 1895-1912.

United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, to which body are attached all the district Master Printer Associations, with the exception of the newspaper owners. This Federation came into existence at the beginning of the present century, owing its inception to the late Mr. Alf. Cooke, of Leeds, who took advantage of the tendency which various local associations had shown towards federation to suggest a national body with a constitution similar to that existing to-day. The Glasgow Master Printers' Association took up the idea with enthusiasm, the result being that the present Federation was formed, and has since played a considerable part in controlling and settling various questions which have arisen.

The principal Trade Unions concerned are the Typographical Association, which has a membership of nearly 22,000 with 151 branches, and, having headquarters at Manchester, exercises a considerable influence throughout the provinces of England, Ireland, and Wales; the London Society of Compositors, with about 12,000 members; the Scottish Typographical Association, with a membership of nearly 5,000; the Printing Machine Managers, with a membership of 2,600; the Amalgamated Society of Lithographic Printers, with a membership of 4,600; the Bookbinders and Machine Rulers, with a membership of over 5,000; and the Printers' Warehousemen and Cutters, with a membership of about 3,500. The oldest of these societies is the London Society of Compositors, which was started in 1785, and which body is stated to be opposed to the settling of disputes by Conciliation Boards, refusing an offer made in respect of this point in 1910.



The Typographical Association, which is by far the most important body, entered on May 6, 1911, into an "Agreement on Rules" between themselves and the Federation of Master Printers, the Linotype Users' Association, the Federation of Northern Newspaper Owners, and the Federation of Southern Newspaper Owners. Under this Agreement a Committee of Reference was established, which, though not providing for a final agreement, goes very much farther than any similar agreement previously existing in the printing trade. The following are the duties of the Committee of Reference :

"In the event of any question or difference arising between an employer and members of the Typographical Association which proves incapable of settlement by the employer and the Branch concerned, no strike or lock-out shall take place and notices shall not be given by either side before reference of the question at issue has been made to a Standing Committee of employers and members of the Typographical Association Executive, which shall meet within six days of the matter being referred to it by either side.

"The Standing Committee to consist of eighteen members, of whom nine shall be nominated by the Employers and nine by the Typographical Association, and of whom six shall be selected—three from each side and to be as far as possible unconnected with the dispute—to hear and, if possible, determine the dispute."

The more important of the Trade Unions are federated under the title of the Printers' and Kindred Trades Federation of the United Kingdom, but so far no attempt has been made to establish anything like national action. The best paid amongst working printers are certainly the lithographic printers, whose

wages vary from 45s. to 55s. per week, though in certain instances, notably amongst compositors employed on newspapers and amongst certain of the Correctors of the Press—as the men who were formerly known as “printers’ readers” now prefer to style themselves—even higher wages are earned. The printing trade, as a whole, is easily the most backward of all the important trades in respect to the machinery which it has set up for the settlement of disputes.

The employees in the printing trade have always been variable in their methods of conducting movements for the betterment of their condition, and particularly has this been the case in London. Thus, in 1901 the allied Trade Unions of the printers presented a memorial to the master printers in London asking for certain improvements in their terms of service. After lengthy discussion the questions contained in this memorial were submitted to arbitration, with the result that, amongst other concessions, the working hours of the trade were reduced from 54 to 52½ per week. In 1911, when a further reduction was demanded, the men decided against following the sensible precedent they had themselves helped to establish, and went out on strike for this further reduction of the hours to be worked. The Union directly concerned was the London Society of Compositors, and, as the employers decided to fight the question, a strike followed which lasted several months and caused a great deal of bitterness. The net result was that the funds of the Union were most seriously depleted, and that the men went back to work on practically the same terms as they had before the strike, while a considerable number of firms which were formerly known as “Society houses” are

now worked largely by non-Union men who were taken on during the strike. As a consequence of this employment of non-Union men, many of the members of the London Society of Compositors are still out of employment, so that the drain upon the funds of the Society is still of an abnormal character.

One of the chief sources of trouble in the printing trade is due to the fact that it is possible to start a small printing works on a very modest amount of actual capital. This leads to the creation of a large number of small businesses, which, owing to the peculiar circumstances under which they are managed, often lead to minor and vexatious disputes. The larger firms usually conform, whether members of a Masters' Association or not, to conditions of employment and wages which may have been agreed upon between members of local associations of employers and officials of Trade Unions, and are accepted as the customary wages of a district. The smaller businesses to which reference has been made, which employ anything from one to half a dozen operatives, in addition to the employer (who is usually a working employer), are often conducted on rough-and-ready "go-as-you-please" methods which ignore altogether the customary rule of the district. These firms are generally merely jobbing printers in small provincial towns, though such printers in the larger towns and cities are also found ignoring accepted rules.

The only printing operatives who find it easy to force their demands upon employers are the printers employed in the daily-newspaper trade. As may readily be imagined, the proprietors of such papers cannot afford to cease publication even for an edition; and this has had a considerable effect upon the disci-

pline of the mechanical side of daily-newspaper offices, which discipline, from the point of view of the Trade Union enthusiast, is the most perfect of any branch of the trade. Indeed, so real is the dread amongst newspaper proprietors of any stoppage in their works, that one prominent London proprietor is said, on one occasion when certain demands were put forward by one section of his employees, to have stated that he would grant them even though it cost him £10,000 per year—a striking commentary on the power of Trade Unionism to levy what is practically, in regard to the position in which the employer finds himself, a form of blackmail.

Mr. C. W. Bowerman, M.P., has been for many years one of the outstanding figures in the printing trade. Formerly a compositor, and at one time General Secretary of the London Society of Compositors, he now represents Deptford in Parliament, and is the Secretary of the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress. He is strongly in favour of conciliatory and constitutional methods.

Undoubtedly the other outstanding personality on the side of the men is Mr. H. Skinner, Secretary of the Typographical Association. Mr. Skinner is in favour of the entire trade being conducted on agreements, and has a great objection to strikes.

On the employers' side the controlling personalities change each year, but Mr. Reginald J. Lake, the Secretary of the Federation of Master Printers, has, by virtue of his position, a very strong influence. It is a good omen for the printing trade that Mr. Lake, like the two gentlemen mentioned above, favours conciliatory methods.

## CHAPTER XVI

### LEGAL PRIVILEGES AND LEGAL RULINGS

NATURALLY there has been a considerable amount of litigation concerning the various Acts which closely affect the organisation and rights of Trade Unionism. Since the Trades Union Act of 1871 there have been hundreds of cases heard in the courts upon questions which have arisen; and it would be impossible, within ordinary limits, to give particulars of even a tithe of them. There have been certain cases, however, of far greater importance than others, which have had considerable effect upon defining the legal limits of labour organisation, and the following constitute the chief of them :

Under the Trades Union Act of 1871 it was provided by Section 2 that :

“The purposes of any Trade Union shall not, by reason merely that they are in restraint of trade, be deemed to be unlawful, so as to render any members of such Trade Union liable to criminal prosecution for conspiracy or otherwise.”

This section of the Act did not, as it is popularly thought to do, “create” or “legalise” Trade Unions in the full sense of such words. This fact has been

pointed out on two occasions by the Master of the Rolls—in the cases of *Osborne v. the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants*, and *Gozney v. the Bristol Trade and Provident Society*.

By Section 3 of the Act it was provided that :

“The purposes of any Trade Union shall not, by reason merely that they are in restraint of trade, be unlawful so as to render void or voidable any agreement or trust.”

The practical effect of this section was to legalise Trade Unions for civil purposes, as it is a well-established doctrine that contracts are void if they are in restraint of trade. There has been little litigation under this section, for—as is also the case with Section 2—much of the effect is lost by reason of the fourth and most important section.

Section 4 provides that :

“Nothing in this Act shall enable any court to entertain any legal proceedings instituted with the *object of directly* enforcing or recovering damages for the breach of any of the following agreements, namely :

“(1) Any agreement between members of a Trade Union as such, concerning the conditions on which any members for the time being of such Trade Union shall or shall not sell their goods, transact business, employ, or be employed ;

“(2) Any agreement for the payment by any person of any subscription or penalty to a Trade Union ;

“(3) Any agreement for the application of the funds of a Trade Union :

“(a) To provide benefit to members ; or,

“(b) To furnish contributions to any employer or workman not a member of such Trade Union,

in consideration of such employer or workman acting in conformity with the rules or resolutions of such Trade Unions ; or,

“(c) To discharge any fine imposed upon any person by sentence of a court of justice ; or,

“(4) Any agreement made between one Trade Union and another ; or,

“(5) Any bond to secure the performance of any of the above-mentioned agreements.

“But nothing in this section shall be deemed to constitute any of the above-mentioned agreements unlawful.”

The practical effect of this provision was to allow these agreements to be *made*, but not to be *enforced* by a court of law, a somewhat illogical position. One would have thought that if the law allowed them it might have enforced them. The position established is not unlike that which exists in gaming and wagering contracts, since when those contracts are not criminal the law allows them to be made, but refuses to enforce them.

The language of this section was always found very ambiguous, and was never properly defined until the Osborne Case. Judges had expressed opinions upon it which were extremely difficult to reconcile.

The main point of difficulty was the word “directly” in the section :

“Nothing in this Act shall enable any court to entertain any legal proceedings instituted with the *object of directly* enforcing or recovering damages for the breach of any of the following agreements.”

The words “object of directly” at once open up a question of fact upon which it is hard to form pre-

cedents, as the facts in no two cases are the same. No two of the facts in the number of cases under this section—before the Osborne Case—were identical, and the dicta of the various judges of such eminence as Lord Halsbury, Lord Lindley, Lord MacNaughten, in *Wolfe v. Mathews*; Sir George Jessel in *Rigby v. Connol*; the Lord Justices of Appeal in the *Yorkshire Miners' Association v. Howden*, only serve to make matters more complicated, the difficulty being, as has been indicated, that in no two cases were the facts alike, and facts are not for lawyers to decide.

The following are the most important decisions under this section :

In *Cope v. Crosingham* (1909) (2 Ch. 148) it was decided that a Trade Union was entitled to obtain an injunction to restrain a branch of its Union from distributing funds *not* in accordance with its rules. Lord Justice Buckley stated that it was not within the meaning of the word “directly.”

In *Wolfe v. Mathews* (21 Ch. 194) it was decided that the Court had power to grant an injunction on the application of certain members of one Union to restrain a proposed amalgamation in which the Union's funds would be used for the purposes of the amalgamation. This again was held not to be within the meaning of “directly.”

In *Duke v. Littleboy* (49 L.J. Ch. 802), however, the Court decided that it had not power to grant an injunction to the Central Executive of the Union to restrain a branch from dividing funds contrary to the rules of the Society for the purpose of a strike which the Central Executive had not authorised.

In *Rigby v. Connol* (14 Ch. 482), it was held that a



member fined and expelled could not apply for relief to Court to restrain the Union from preventing him sharing in the benefits of the Union.

(Chamberlain's Wharf, Ltd. *v.* Smith (19002 Ch. 605) was another case almost similar to the preceding one.)

In *Gozney v. Bristol Trade and Provident Society* it was held that if the rules of the Unions were not in restraint of trade, the provisions of the Trades Union Act, 1871, Section 4, did not apply, and the Court had jurisdiction. This case shows very clearly that apart from giving Trade Unions notoriety, the Act did not alter their legal position very materially, the Master of the Rolls saying so on one occasion.

In *Edinburgh and District Aerated Water Manufacturers' Defence Association v. Jenkinson* it was held that the Court had no jurisdiction to enforce payment of a penalty against a member of a Union.

A Trade Union must not assist a man to bring an action, unless the action is one which it is to the interest of the Union. If such assistance is given otherwise, the Union may be guilty of maintenance. This was stated in *Greig v. National Amalgamated Union of Shop Assistants* (22 L.J. Ch. 274).

In *Russell v. Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners* (132 L.J. 416) it was decided that the Court could not enforce an agreement providing sick pay.

The Osborne Judgments.—In the first Osborne Case it was decided by the House of Lords, in an action against the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants, that a Trade Union had not power to collect and administer funds for political purposes or for political representation. Any rule to confer such power is *ultra vires* and illegal.

In the second Osborne case, before the Court of Appeal, it was decided that the Court could maintain an action for reinstatement of a member who had been expelled, as this was not an agreement for "application of funds" within the meaning of Section 4 of the Trades Union Act, 1871, and that the rules of the society were not in restraint of trade.

*Wilson v. the Amalgamated Society of Engineers.*—The principle of the first Osborne Case was extended to municipal and local representation other than Boards of Guardians, when the levies were compulsory.

From the above cases, which are typical examples of those which have established the interpretation of the governing Act of trade-union law, it will be seen that the decision of the Courts is, that the Courts will restrain misapplications of money. They will not enforce agreements between members if they are in restraint of trade. They recognise that the vote of a member is a legal property and right which they will protect, though they may be powerless to enforce.

The Trades Union Act, 1876, made certain amendments to the Principle Act, but did not materially affect the above section. It distinctly legalised strikes.

The first great national controversy arose over the question as to whether Union funds were liable in tort. Could Unions sue and be sued? In one case between 1871 and the Taff Vale case, costs and an injunction were granted against a Union as such; and in another costs, an injunction and damages; and in another, in which it was unsuccessfully attempted to make a Union as such a party (sued) to an action, the Union was allowed costs. The great question was never threshed out till the Taff Vale case, when the House of Lords

decided that a Trade Union could be sued in its registered name as a corporate body, thus restoring the judgment of Mr. Justice Farwell and reversing the decision of the Court of Appeal (July, 1901). As a result, the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants, against which, together with its officials, the Taff Vale Company had brought the action "for conspiring to induce breach of contract and to interfere by picketing and other unlawful acts," had to pay £23,000. X More-over, in the "stop day" case in 1903, the South Wales Miners' Federation had ultimately to pay the Glamorgan-shire Coal Company over £60,000 for inducing breaches of contract by advising a strike or three or four days' stop. X These cases set on foot an agitation all over England for an alteration in the Law, and the General Election of 1905 was partly decided on this issue. X Accordingly, the new Liberal Government at once introduced an amending bill.

Under the Trades Disputes Act, 1906, it was provided in Section 1 that :

"An Act done in pursuance of an agreement or combination by two or more persons, shall, if done in contemplation or furtherance of a trade dispute, not be actionable unless the Act, if done without any such agreement or combination, would be actionable."

This Section has already been argued upon in the Courts, the chief questions there being whether the Acts complained of were "in contemplation or furtherance of a trade dispute." A mere personal grumbling is not a trade dispute, and a trade dispute, according to Lord Shaw in the case of *Conway v. Wade*, argued in 1909 in the House of Lords, must already be in existence

for there to be any "furtherance." No doubt there will arise a great deal of litigation around these words in the future, as they are far from clear.

By Section 2 of the same Act it was provided that "peaceful picketing" was permissible, "in contemplation or furtherance of a trade dispute." This section, which is one of the most debated in industrial circles, reads:

"It shall be lawful for one or more persons, acting on their own behalf, or on behalf of the Trade Union, or of an individual employer or firm, in contemplation or furtherance of a trade dispute, to attend at or near a house or place where a person resides or works, or carries on business, or happens to be, if they so attend merely for the purpose of peacefully obtaining or communicating information, or of peacefully persuading any person to work or abstain from working."

The question of what is or is not "peacefully obtaining or communicating information, or of peacefully persuading any person to work or abstain from working," is again a question of fact, and has many more difficulties than the late Attorney-General, Sir John Walton, pointed out in his speech introducing the measure. Sir John on that occasion said that it was necessary to alter the then state of the law, which he described as being in an absurd condition. It would appear from the great dispute which has arisen on the question of the interpretation of this Act, that the effect of the measure has been far different from what Sir John Walton intended.

In the Irish case of *Larkin v. the Belfast Harbour Commissioners*, it was decided by Lord O'Brien that the Act did not authorise the invasion of a man's house against the will of the owner,

It was held in the Scottish case of *Wilson v. Renton*, where a number of strikers were charged, under Section 7 of the Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act, with persistently following and watching and besetting, that they were unable to plead Section 2 of the Trades Disputes Act of 1906, because none of them had communicated or ever attempted to communicate any information to the men they besetted. The Lord Justice Clerk in his judgment said: "It appears to me that this section in no way alters what it is necessary to libel under Section 7 of the Act of 1875. It is still an offence to follow a person about from place to place. It is still an offence to watch and beset a house of another person." Practically all that this section does is to enact that it would be a good answer to the charge if the person accused "satisfies the tribunal that all that was done was that one or more persons attended at or near a house or place for the purpose of peacefully obtaining or communicating information or peacefully persuading a person to work or abstain from work." (See Appendix.)

From these decisions it is clear that it is the intention of the Courts to limit by their ruling as far as is possible the effect of the Act.

In July, the Court of Appeal gave a very important decision in the case of *Gaskell & Others v. the Lancashire & Cheshire Miners' Federation*. The plaintiffs were non-Unionists, at the Bamfurlong Collieries where the majority of the men were unionists, and the latter threatened a strike if the firm continued to employ the former. The Bamfurlong Union was a branch of the Miners' Federation, and in accordance with the rules the men would not get strike pay unless the

Federation sanctioned the action they proposed to take. This action the Federation sanctioned, after due notice had been given to terminate contracts, and the firm declined accordingly to employ non-union men. The Court of Appeal upheld the verdict of the lower court that the defendants came within the protection of the Trades Disputes Act, 1906.

One of the most contentious Acts ever passed was the Employers' Liability Act, 1880, in which it is provided in Section 1 :

“whereafter the commencement of this Act personal injury is caused to a workman,

“(1) By reason of any defect in the condition of the ways, works, machinery or plant connected with or used in the business of the employer ; or,

“(2) By reason of the negligence of any person in the service of the employer who has any superintendence entrusted to him, whilst in the exercise of such superintendence ; or,

“(3) By reason of the negligence of any person in the service of the employer to whose orders or directions the workman at the time of the injury was bound to conform, and did conform, where such injury resulted from his having so conformed ; or,

“(4) By reason of the act or omission of any person in the service of the employer, done or made in the obedience to the rules or bye-laws of the employer, or in obedience to particular instructions given by any person delegated with the authority of the employer in that behalf ; or,

“(5) By reason of the negligence of any person in the service of the employer who has the charge or control of any signal points, locomotive engine, or train upon a railway.”

Without setting out the rest of the Act *in extenso*,

it may be stated that the workman cannot recover under sub-section 1 of Section 1 unless he can prove the employer or some one who was entrusted with the matter had been negligent in not remedying the defect, or unless the bye-law, referred to in sub-section 4 of Section 1, was improper or defective. The workman cannot recover also if he knew of such defect and did not notify his employer or person to whom the authority had been delegated within a proper time, unless of course he knew that the employer also was aware of the defect.

The effect of the mass of litigation which arose under this Act and its construction has been that the interpretation is gradually getting to favour the employer rather than the workman.

The following are the chief points of legal controversy :

- (1) Who is a workman ?
- (2) Who is an employer ?
- (3) Who is a superintendent in control or management ?

So much litigation arose from this Act that large volumes containing special reports of cases under it have been published.

It has been seen that Trade Unions have not a right to help a workman with his costs except in certain cases (see *Greig v. National Amalgamated Union of Shop Assistants*), so that employers secure a decided advantage. In the majority of instances they can afford to have their cases well presented by eminent counsel, and moreover they are not forced to leave cases which are decided against them at the first court—as the workman is often obliged to do, from

lack of time or funds—but can take them to Higher Courts, with the result that the construction of the Act has been slowly moulded in their favour.

The Act contains several questions of fact which often give rise to difficulties in the Court, as does also Section 1 of the Workmen's Compensation Act, 1906. In this latter case the difficulty is the incorporation of another question of fact, namely, "*If in any employment personal injury by accident arising out of and in the course of the employment, etc., is caused to a workman, his employer shall, subject as hereinafter mentioned, be liable to pay compensation in accordance with the first schedule of this Act.*"

There are already scores of cases on the point, in which the judgments are irreconcilable to the average mind, and hair-splitting arguments are continually heard in the Court of Appeal when the batches of appeal come up in cases under this section.

✕ Again, under the Act of 1906 employers are gradually reaping the advantage of their greater financial strength. As a rule the workman fights his case himself, and, if he loses, he has not always the courage or the funds to appeal. The Insurance Companies, usually the representatives of the employers, on the other hand, always appeal from unfavourable decisions, so that decisions here are also showing a decided tendency to favour the employing section.

The following are a few examples of cases under the Workmen's Compensation Act, 1906, which is rapidly becoming more popular than the Employers' Liability Act, though under the former the victim receives, instead of a lump sum, so much a week according to the rate of his wages and his incapacity to earn the full



wage, the reason being that the workman does not have to prove negligence.

*Reed v. Great Western Railway Company.* This was a case in which an engine-driver left his engine to get a book. This was quite unconnected with his duties, and on returning to his engine he was killed, but the Court decided that the accident did not arise in the course of his employment.

*Robertson v. Allen Brothers, Limited.* This is the case of a steward on board ship, who went ashore, as he was entitled to do, and returned slightly the worse for drink. He got on board a cargo skid, from which he fell and was killed, and the Court held that the accident arose out of and in the course of his employment.

In the case of *Moore v. Manchester Liners, Limited*, the facts were almost the same; but it was held that the man was "outside the protection of the Act the moment he left the ship until he got back to the ship."

*Rowland v. Wright.* This was the case of a man who, while employed in some stables, was bitten by the stable cat. The Court in this case held that he was entitled to recover.

In the 1906 Act, as in the Employers' Liability Act, there has been a great deal of litigation concerning the meaning of the word "workman," and also relative to the meaning of the word "accident."

If, in the opinion of the Court, an injured workman's condition would be improved by an operation, and such workman refuses to undergo such an operation, the Court can suspend or reduce compensation under the Workmen's Compensation Act until such time as

the workman may reconsider his decision. Workmen are very reluctant indeed to undergo operations, which lately have been more freely recommended by the Courts.

An important principle as to the assessing of wages for purposes of compensation under the Workmen's Compensation Act, was decided by the Court of Appeal in July, 1912. The appeal was by the employer in the case of *White v. Wiseman*, from the award in favour of the applicant by the Birmingham County Court Judge.

The County Court Judge awarded the applicant 12*s.* a week compensation for an accident resulting in the loss of an eye, and, in estimating the workman's average weekly earnings, had taken into consideration only the wages that were comparatively large; whereas it was contended the good weeks should have been taken with the bad spread over the twelve months.

The Court, in allowing the appeal, said they must take the bad weeks with the good, add them together, and divide them.

## CHAPTER XVII

### THE GOVERNMENT AND LABOUR UNREST

THE Government attitude towards Labour unrest has undergone profound modification within the last few years. Up to that period the dominant principle was to protect the weak wherever inevitable, and, while keeping the ring, leave the strong to fight it out among themselves. This explains the passing of the Trade Boards Act. Gradually, however, the constant recurrence of Labour unrest, and its effect on the country as a whole, with the attendant disorganisation of Government business, compelled consideration of the problem from a much broader standpoint. The creation of the Industrial Council<sup>1</sup> was the first indication of Government apprehension, which was accentuated by the rapid disturbances in the railway world, the coal trade, and the transport industry. Obviously it was necessary to discover some more systematic method of dealing with this new manifestation; the old haphazard plan of waiting for the emergency, and finding the remedy when the need presented itself, had to be modified, for the evil was nearly always wrought before official intervention could prevent it.

In June, 1912, the Government of the day accordingly

<sup>1</sup> In 1911; really as a result of the railway strike.

## 234 INDUSTRIAL COUNCILS' INQUIRY

considered the subject, and Mr. Asquith, the Premier, made the following statement in the House :

“From the experience derived from the industrial disputes which have lately occurred, it has become evident that one of the chief difficulties in the way of peaceful and friendly relations between employers and men is the want of effective measures for securing the due observance of industrial agreements by both sides. Further, where agreements are come to between employers and workmen in regard to conditions of employment the agreement, though binding on those who are parties to it, is not binding on the whole of the trade of the district. These matters affect the employers and workmen alike, and it seems essential to ascertain—

(1) What is the best method of securing the due fulfilment of industrial agreement ?

(2) How far industrial agreements, which are made between representative bodies of employers and of workmen, should be enforced throughout the particular trade or district ?

“The Government are anxious to have inquiry made into the matter, and to receive advice from those best qualified to give it. In these circumstances, they propose to refer the above questions to the Industrial Council, which is representative of the employers and of the men in the great industries of the country ; to request the Council carefully to consider the matter, to take such evidence as they may think fit, and to report to the Government any conclusions to which they may come. The view of the Government has been strengthened by the following resolution of the Industrial Council, who have considered the matter :

“The question of the maintenance of industrial agreement having come before the Industrial Council, that Council are of opinion that this subject is of the highest importance to employers and

Trade Unions, and workpeople generally, and would welcome an immediate inquiry into the matter.

"The resolution was agreed to unanimously. The Government are therefore requesting the Industrial Council to undertake the inquiry, and they will give the most earnest attention to any recommendations which the Council may be able to make." <sup>1</sup>

✧ This abandonment of the *laissez-faire* policy of the Government in regard to industrial disputes may one day come to be recognised as the most important development in economic matters in this country in the last fifty years. ✧ The Government has always abstained from any direct intervention on the grounds both of policy and custom : of policy, because it has always held that statutory enactments are a bar to the free development of trade, and a certain means of hampering the progressive development of the position of the individual worker ; of custom, because it has always been considered that the commerce of this country, having been built up on an individualistic basis, should in fairness be judged on its extremely successful results. It has probably also been greatly influenced in its attitude of abstention by the hostility of all the interests concerned. The employers certainly have never asked for legislation ; the workmen may have asked for it, but they have often turned and rent the donor of the boon. Thus, the Trades Union Congress vigorously denounced the operation of the Labour Exchanges, while they alluded to the Trade Boards in exceptionally depreciatory language. ✧ Further, Mr. W. A. Appleton, Secretary of the General Federation of Trade Unions, writing in

<sup>1</sup> The Industrial Council, up to that moment, had been almost entirely neglected by the Government. It proceeded to hold an inquiry.

## 236 CONCILIATION BOARDS REJECTED

1910, stated, "The results of the Act are not reassuring. The Trade Boards have served one useful purpose ; they have assisted the Labour Exchanges to demonstrate the futility of attempting to extract the millennium from mere Acts of Parliament." ✕ The General Federation in 1911, though its Secretary vigorously denounced the various schemes for the establishment of Government Conciliation Boards, declared that such tribunals would not be fair to the workers and would hamper their efforts to improve themselves. It contended that such Conciliation Boards were not necessary. No representative of a responsible trade-union organisation had asked for them, or expressed approval of the intention to create them. Their creation would be offensive, and the results of their operations doubtful. It is, too, common knowledge that Mr. Will Crooks, M.P., was violently denounced for introducing a mild Bill on Canadian lines, with the result that he was careful never to say anything about it again. ✕ In short, the whole attitude of organised Labour has been a direct warning to the Government of the day to do nothing which might conceivably hamper trade-union aims, objects, policy, and methods. ✕ If it did so, it would act at its own peril, for Labour has always demanded the Right to Strike.

✕ Probably these warnings would have deterred the Government from doing anything, but for the fact that organised Labour was very badly beaten in the Transport Strike of 1912, and for the additional circumstance that the community was getting restless at finding itself the invariable cock-shy of those organised groups of contestants for their own particular interests. It has been said that no Government in this country ever moved except under the stress of public opinion, and it

certainly was the case with the Ministry of 1912. No surprise was felt, therefore, when Mr. Lloyd George announced in the House on July 23, 1912, that, while legislation for each particular case was impossible, the Government had come to the conclusion that it would be necessary to deal with this whole problem in the immediate future—a statement which was regarded as evidence of some form of compulsory arbitration, though this was officially denied. (See Appendix.)

In all probability Government action will in future take the form of giving legalised sanction to decisions binding organised groups of trades in different districts, in fact, compelling their organisation. Parliament will never fix wages, but it will give its sanction to the compulsory observance of joint understandings which may be entered into by the parties immediately concerned, and it will probably also give its approval to a system under which such understandings will have attached to them a penal clause by which either side breaking them will be mulcted in damages. At the present moment, there is undoubtedly a strong current of trade-union sentiment hostile to any such penalisation, and the Labour Party, aware of the fact, has not dared to recommend it in the House. Quietly, however, certain trades, notably the boot and shoe industry, the Bradford Dyers' Association and their Yorkshire workpeople, and the dockers at Bristol and Gloucester, have actually carried, or are carrying, the principle into effect, and it was even put forward by the Transport Workers as a whole in London as offering a satisfactory settlement of their great dispute. Probably, therefore, the Government will feel itself strong enough to do something on the lines suggested. It is not a panacea against strikes,

as events proved in the cases already mentioned, but it is undoubtedly a deterrent influence. The country, too, demands action of some sort, and a Ministry dependent on a Labour vote naturally chooses the line of least resistance. Trade Unionism once opposed co-partnership, but it is now reconciled to it; in time it may come to view benevolently even the establishment of such Boards which it now in the bulk denounces.

At the same time, those who lightly urge that the Government should be always ready to deal with Labour Unrest by means of legislation, should recollect that in these matters Parliament may pass measures and yet be quite unable to enforce them. Take, for instance, a coal strike. Parliament could not compel a collier to work, if he declined; it could not compel an employer to open his pits if he objected. In the latter case it might forcibly take over the property and work it, paying fair compensation; in the former it might fine the recalcitrant men. The remedies would, however, probably be worse than the disease.

It should be added that the Government (1912) instituted a Departmental Inquiry into the cost of living, to ascertain whether there had been any rise, it being understood that on its decision would depend any action which might be taken in the direction of increasing wages of certain public servants, notably the postal employees. It was very soon known that the evidence indicated a rise in some branches of expenditure.

The Labour Exchanges, while doing some useful work in the direction of placing and transferring workers, have not answered the expectations of skilled Labour, who seem to have considered that their operations would improve the opportunities of employment.



## CHAPTER XVIII

### SUGGESTED REMEDIES

#### THE EMPLOYERS' POINT OF VIEW

THE employers in the country, despite their consultations (see Appendix), have not yet arrived at a stage when they are able to offer any concrete proposals as to the solution of Labour unrest. For the most part their advice is of a negative character. Almost without exception they mistrust the intervention of Parliament, and appeal to be left alone, not necessarily to adopt a policy of dictatorial methods towards their employees, but to settle their differences with them in a way satisfactory to both. There are, of course, exceptions. There is still a considerable body of employing opinion which clings to Individualism as the sheet anchor not only of prosperity, but of existence. The holders of this view claim to have built up their businesses in their own way, to have settled their differences with their own employees on their own lines, and they neither admit the right of any outside party to intervene nor concede that such intervention could have any beneficial result. These employers are not necessarily either limited in their trading operations or controlling a small number of men. Often they are the largest firms in the district. They stand outside

any Federation of Masters, fight their own battles as best they may, and trade as they think fit within those limits which may be imposed on them by equally powerful Trade Unions in their own district. Even in the north and on the east coast there are plenty of such firms, which often represent to the mind of the outsider the pioneers in the staple trade of the district, as perhaps they are. Such firms reject the idea of joint understanding with Labour, and if they decline to become members of any Masters' Federation for the purpose, it is equally obvious they will be opposed to any sort of wider control which may be suggested from the outside.

Nor, as a rule, does the average firm which is federated with others in the district welcome the idea of any further measure of co-operation with Labour other than that it may voluntarily choose to embark on. The great producing trades of the country do not admit that legislation is necessary for improving the financial status of the workmen, and they point to the long record of what has been done by co-operation, more or less amicable, with Labour, as a proof of their contention. They put forward the theory—which, after all, is a sound one—that the workman can by negotiation regulate his wages in any industry where anything is produced, because he can always base his earnings upon the variations in the price of the finished article. This accounts, both in the opinion of the representative employer and employed, for the success of the Sliding Scale system in the regulation of wages, a conspicuous instance of which is furnished by the iron and steel trade. Of course it may be said that the sliding scale has not been successful in the coal trade, and that this

notable exception invalidates the general rule. There is, however, no parallel between the cases. A sliding scale cannot be worked satisfactorily in the coal trade because the owner, having the raw material under his hand, has only to base his contracts on the price he pays to Labour, and this he does to such an extent, and at such long distances of time, that the price is often exceptionally low. Indeed, he is using Labour, or rather the cheapness of it, as the basis of his contract. With the producers of all other goods the case is different. They have, it is true, to reckon with Labour, but they also have to take into consideration the frequent and often violent fluctuations both in the supply and in the price of the raw material. They cannot afford to gamble by making long contracts ahead, and their tenders are mostly based upon relative certainty regarding prices of the commodities they employ in the processes of their works, an argument which needs no emphasis when one recollects the intricacies of modern manufacture. They therefore claim that it is open to the workmen to profit by the variations in the market prices, and they assert that if he does so the result is satisfactory. They do not, of course, contend that under this system strikes are averted, but they assert, with truth, that these are as a rule limited to points which stand outside the category of wages, or have only an indirect connection with it.

Such employers, therefore, neither admit that there is abnormal unrest in the Labour with which they have to deal, nor do they agree that any interference from the outside would be beneficial. To be perfectly candid, the ordinary business man has rather a contempt for Parliament, a view which is shared by the better-class

Trade Unionists, who consider that they are perfectly able, as a rule, to secure all they want without the intervention of the law. For quite other reasons, this is also the Syndicalist view.

The situation is different in what may be called the carrying trades—all transport work, the railways, and the manning of ships, to quote the three most conspicuous cases. Here there is no standard such as exists in the producing trades by which the wages of the workman can be varied. His remuneration accordingly remains stationary, unless he can induce the employer either to recognise the increase in the standard of living or in the cost of living, or in both, and to make advances in his pay which may compensate him for the extra outlay entailed, and which may, in some degree at all events, approximate to the advantages gained by his more fortunate colleagues in the producing trades. At present, failing the generosity of his employers, he has to rely upon his own powers of organisation, and on his ability to dislocate the trade of the country, to extort by force what he considers should be given to him in equity. The employers in the carrying trade undoubtedly feel themselves face to face with a real and serious danger. In some places they have shown an appreciation of a position by endeavouring to meet the wishes of the men, and this was the case in regard to the North-Eastern Railway, where the directors have officially recognised the Trade Unions and directly negotiate with them. Those who know the north-east of England, and appreciate the fact that the railway traverses a very stronghold of Trade Unionism, are convinced that the directors had no other course, even if they had been wishful to fight

to the last the claims of their men. As to the way in which recognition has worked opinions differ, but they are at one in agreeing that the company was wise in making a virtue of necessity. In all other branches of the carrying trade the employers virtually have their backs to the wall. The failure of the Transport Strike has undoubtedly intensified their feeling that, single-handed and given a fair field, they can hold their own. In all probability this is true, but it is equally certain that they would have to fight in defence of their position at intervals of every few years; and realising that the community is not disposed to permit itself to become the *corpus vile* on which the two sides are going to stamp while they struggle, they are in many cases discussing what is the minimum of interference, under State auspices, they would be prepared to entertain, and as a result some are willing to consider, the suggestion of joint boards to regulate wages and conditions of employment, provided the men are made financially responsible for all breaches of agreement. It is a case of "thus far and no farther." Even as it is, proposals to this end could be carried through the House only with much difficulty: the employers, flushed with success, are rather uncompromising, while the men are sullen and suspicious.

Every employer invariably adduces the economic issue in approaching the question of Labour unrest. He points to the undoubted fact that in many of the skilled trades there are not enough workmen, that, in these, wages are good, and irresponsible agitation does not exist. In unskilled trades he is guided by the law of supply and demand. He pays as much as the labour is worth, and he can get all he wants. If Parliament,

therefore, should try to control it, it would be embarking on a very dangerous course. Such is his opinion, and he will be no party to it unless the most thorough safeguards are provided.

### THE WORKERS' POINT OF VIEW

The difficulty in approaching any solution from the point of view of the workers is that their opinion is hopelessly divided according to their point of view of Capital and Capitalism. All Labour appreciates Capital—nearly all Labour depreciates Capitalism. Only the most educated and deep-thinking working men understand the value of Capitalism as an effective economic force in industrial development; to 99 per cent. it represents merely an organisation for the enrichment of the few at the expense of the many. There are, of course, degrees in denunciation. To the Anarchist "Capitalism means bloodshed and brute force, or, as the only alternative, the absolute submission of the workers," since "the workers have all the power of production and the capitalists entirely depend upon the workers continuing this production and handing over to them the wealth produced," in the furtherance of which policy force is the dominating factor. In other words Capitalism is "the last form of slavery." There is no essential difference between this view and that propounded by Syndicalism. Mr. Tom Mann, who is its chief exponent, preaches daily the entire abolition of Capitalism—not of Capital, which he would place in the ownership of the men alone. To this end much propagandist work is necessarily progressive. A successful agitation for shorter

hours and higher wages is merely taking a step upwards on the ladder at the top of which is complete ownership by the workers of all the means of production of their particular industry. No amount of concession by the Capitalist is to be permitted to avert his fate or soften the bitterness of his overthrow. As Mr. Tom Mann puts it, each concession will be merely used as the stepping-off point for the campaign towards achieving the next economic victory;—"Thank you for nothing." The bleeding process is to be proceeded with remorselessly until the victim is not only exhausted, but moribund. At this stage the all-triumphant worker steps in, pushes out the Capitalist, who admits his inability any longer to continue on sound economic lines, and takes from him the entire concern with the object of working it for the benefit of Labour alone. A campaign such as this presupposes the existence of Labour unrest, and creates it if it does not exist. No remedy is suggested, because none is desired. Any agreement between masters and men is fatal to Syndicalism, which, in differentiation from Anarchism, preaches somewhat milder methods based on the efficacy of unified passivity.

There is no doubt that a large proportion of the working classes are reasonable men. They dislike turmoil, and would prefer to operate on lines assuring the maximum of economic benefit without the existent unrest and suffering caused alike by sectional and by general strikes. In the eyes of the ordinary worker the payment of a regular weekly wage, adequately large to meet his needs and satisfy his rather undefined resolve that he shall not be left without increased recognition in times of prosperity or unduly victimised at

periods of trade depression, is not only sufficiently satisfactory, but embodies a system which he feels he can cordially support. His main object is to ensure this. To this end he is ready to sign agreements, to work on sliding scales, to accept for his labour rates which are responsive, on some system or other, to the current variations of the market about which, though he may not be informed in detail, he has a fairly sound and intelligent grasp as regards tendency. Slow to be influenced, he is equally slow to be reassured when once alarmed; and there is little doubt that the transitional period in which we now stand is the second, for we have passed into it almost unperceiving, although the Apostles of Unrest preaching the glad words of hope for the "under-dog" have been quietly working not for months, but for years. Look at the records of the best-known Labour leaders of the present day. Many of them, if not actually old men, are certainly middle-aged, and have been industrial propagandists for years.

The proceedings at the various Labour Congresses prove the development of thought. The older type of Trade Unionist can barely hold his own, although, to be perfectly candid, much of the proceedings at these gatherings is "for show only." Take up some of the annual or quarterly reports of trade organisations, and you will see a far saner standpoint. Much depends on the particular Trade Union. Some are organisations which thrive on bellicose utterances. Yet in the Ship Constructive and Shipwrights' Association Report one reads: "Let us hope there will be no need for any serious Labour trouble to arise which will interfere with the prosperity which we are now



enjoying." Elsewhere the Secretary of the National Amalgamated Society of Enginemen and Cranemen<sup>1</sup> remarks: "The situation has its dangers, as there is a growing feeling that all that is necessary is to go on strike and the workers can have anything they care to ask for, and if only the Trade Union officers would get out of the way the workers would do things. I am glad that the workers are at last realising their power; but I would suggest that that power wants using wisely and well, or greater mischief than good will be the result." And in private there are more Trade Unionists who say the same thing; they do not dare to do so in public. In public it is customary to preach extreme doctrines. Thus the Annual Report of the General Federation of Trade Unions remarks: "Hopes of immediate peace are illusory. There can be no peace apart from radical change in the social system. Force . . . will only provoke and precipitate revolution." Even the old-fashioned Trade Unionist thinks it useful to quicken the pace. It is true that at the Trades Union Congress of 1911 Mr. Mullin, the President, did not actually throw over the policy of Mutual Agreements, Boards of Conciliation, and the like in regard to wages and working conditions; but he regretfully admitted that "it could hardly be said they have altogether commended themselves in actual working to Organised Labour." There is much truth in his criticism, but even this moderate commentary would not be endorsed by the Syndicalist, whose view of Trade Unionism is "that its old-fashioned methods of organisation have become hopeless."

Labour views as to the remedy or remedies for

<sup>1</sup> Amalgamated with the Steelsmelters (1912).

the Labour Unrest thus crystallise themselves into the—

Violent Action of Anarchism.<sup>1</sup>

Direct Action or the General Strike of Syndicalism.

Parliamentary Action, with but rare resort to Strikes, of Trade Unionism.

Direct plus Parliamentary Action of Socialism.

Sectional Strike Action of Unorganised Labour.

The Annual Conferences of the Labour Party and the Trades Union Congresses usually provide a good indication of trade-union sentiment—there is now less talk of the brotherhood of Capital and Labour, but rather of the “fierce conflict” between the two. The President of the Labour Party, Mr. Ben Turner, at the Annual Conference at Birmingham, in 1912, put forward various remedies for Labour unrest—remedies which, roughly, had formed the basis of the party programme at the December election of 1910.

“A Socialistic Eden” of all Public Services in Public Hands, including the Railways and the Land.

Better wages with 30s. a week minimum for all.

Eight hours a day for all trades and no night work unless inevitable.

The Right to Work.

Free Education for all from the School to the University.

Extension of the Trade Boards Act.

Electoral Reform and a reversal of the Osborne Judgment.

All the best-known Trade Unionists have recently been urging the limitation of the hours of work. Mr.

<sup>1</sup> It is only fair to say that, in this country, Anarchism is usually philosophic and pacific.

G. N. Barnes, M.P., who has practical experience of engineering, recommends a working week of forty-eight hours—as in Australia—for all trades, since unemployment could be decreased, while the experience hitherto, scanty though it may be, shows that the output and the cost of working are not in the long run prejudicially affected. The same view is taken by Mr. Alexander Gossip, General Secretary of the National Amalgamated Furnishing Trades Association, who opposes any working of overtime on the ground that “it is taking the bread out of the mouth of a fellow workman.” Indeed in Norwich attempts have been successfully made by the boot and shoe operatives to refuse to work overtime, with the result that more men have been engaged and factory accommodation enlarged.

Stress is rightly laid by Labour on the last two items, which are grouped together by reason of their close interworking. A reversal of the Osborne Judgment setting free the use of trade-union funds for political purposes only attains its full measure of usefulness with the introduction of Adult Suffrage and the redistribution of seats. It is this “plank” in the Labour platform which may re-establish Trade Unionism in artisan favour as against the rival claims of Syndicalism, which, to quote again Mr. Tom Mann, “can deal effectively with Labour unrest on the industrial plane without the intermediary of either Parliament or Parliamentarianism.” Parliamentary action would be undoubtedly preferred by the majority of the working classes were it more rapid and efficacious. This is proved, if proof were wanted, by the attitude of the Labour Party in general, no matter the views of certain component parts; by the approval given to the extension of the Trade Boards Act, which

is direct legislative interference in the fixing of wages ; and by the attempt of the mining interest to secure Parliamentary sanction to the establishment of a minimum rate of pay for the industry. Labour only resorts to the strike as a *pis-aller*. The talk of "Labour spoiling for a fight" has undoubtedly a basis of fact, for even the best type of Trade Unionists admit that no Agreement, no Understanding, no Sliding Scale will invariably repress the combative spirit in the individual who likes to think that he can secure something by going on strike for it. Still the present mentality of Labour is a result, not of opposition to legislative action *per se* or necessarily to a belief in its futility, but to the cumulative ill-feeling engendered by a long period of industrial unrest during which no remedy, save the test of endurance, has ever been thought of or discussed. With broader education will come wiser tactics on the part of the workers and, with greater foresight, even if purely selfish, more generosity of treatment on the part of the employer. Indeed, Mr. Arthur Henderson, M.P., speaking at Blackburn (July 1912), denounced the "down tools" policy as certain to destroy the old policy of recognition. He would not give up the power of the strike, but whenever they had had the opportunity of meeting the employers, they had done more for the workers than was ever gained by any strike.

It may in conclusion be asked whether the worker is an idealist. Very few, and these only in theory. The great defect of the artisan temperament of the present day is its reluctance, or rather its positive aversion, to accept responsibility or even to run risks. This is an outcome of character, the result of hereditary training, and hence it may be that in time the worker will come to

emulate the middle class in its speculative tendencies and in its willingness to accept the shadow of the present for the substance of the future. No scheme, co-partnership, bonus or any other, is really welcome to the ordinary worker if it entails future risk or present sacrifice. Organised Labour in the rôle of Directing Brain of any undertaking never is, and never has been, with but isolated instances at the best, successful in replacing the Capitalist Mind. This is not dependent on its possession of the Capital—it fails alike with this, as without. Indeed, the modified success of the co-operative movement, which is perhaps a partial step in the direction of Labour as Capitalist, has greatly encouraged neither the investor, the organiser, nor the worker. Yet Syndicalism champions co-operation to replace competition—almost an initial confession of weakness.

Probably the worker, as a whole, realises his limitations. So long as he does, and so long, too, as these limitations exist, he will always prefer, if possible, to invoke the paternal aid of the State to give effect to his aspirations. It may sound heroic to strike, but it so rarely pays.

This frame of mind was exemplified by the Bill<sup>1</sup> introduced into the House of Commons on June 25, 1912, by Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, to make agreements come to voluntarily between employers and workmen in the Port of London legally enforceable on the whole trade provided the applicants represent one-third of the parties or deal with one-half the volume of the trade. All such Agreements would be registered at the Board of Trade, and hours, wages, and general conditions for every one engaged in the industry or industries would be regulated by law in accordance with the scale

<sup>1</sup> Industrial Agreements Bill, 1912,

mutually agreed on. Guarantees would have to be given, but they would have to be the subject of a voluntary arrangement between the organised workmen and the organised employers.

The Miners' Federation Leaders are, moreover, drafting a bill for the nationalisation of the coal mines in Great Britain. It proposes to give compensation for money sunk in working but not for royalties. The value of the mines on this basis would be issued as Government stock carrying a fixed dividend.

Generally speaking, the evidence given by the men's leaders before the Industrial Council, which is inquiring into the best means of securing the observance of industrial agreements, was pacific in tendency, although it did not disclose any noteworthy ground of common agreement as to suggested action. The failure of the Transport Workers' Strike has undoubtedly produced a sobering effect, and may check the tendency to sympathetic industrial action, by increasing the sense of responsibility. Thus the very excesses of the new movement will in the long run steady industry.

#### THE GENERAL PUBLIC'S POINT OF VIEW

The general public is never chary about making suggestions in dealing with Labour unrest. Most of them are purely academic, and the majority impossible. Opinion, however, among those who have given any serious consideration to the subject, favours the establishment of Joint Boards to control specific industries in specific districts, both workmen and employers to be penalised if they do not carry out the awards of the Board, either arrived at by the members themselves or

given by an agreed-on umpire. The causes of industrial unrest are discussed elsewhere in this volume, so it is only necessary to point out a few of the theoretical methods which are put forward. Thus Mr. H. G. Wells has given his voice in favour of proportional representation. Mr. Geoffrey Drage wants scientific systematic dealing by the Government with social evils. Earl Grey, at the head of a strong body of opinion, is urging co-partnership (see Chapter XIX). Bishop Welldon advises conferences between masters and men, by which a better feeling will be engendered. Mr. Seeborn Rowntree, of the great cocoa firm, prefers a development of State Socialism, with the object of lessening the margin of unemployment. Mr. Dudley Docker recommends a Business League, to which all sections of the community should belong and in which they should work for the common good. Elsewhere we get recommendations in favour of the Agreement with its penal clause, which governs the boot and shoe industry. Others prefer Joint Boards without penal powers. The majority, however, of people come back to some sort of Parliamentary action because this alone is efficacious in dealing with the various ramifications of Labour. Hence the innumerable aspects of rival policies of social reform which it is thought may have a palliative and corrective, even if not a curative, effect.

The community is gradually finding itself in the position of being the party most affected by strikes, whether it be in coal or transport. Sectional industrial troubles leave it relatively untouched, but unrest which affects the nation as a whole stimulates the growth of a feeling which is common in most countries which are bureaucratically administered that the Government

should do "something." According to the latest census return (1911) the population of this country was 45,216,665 people. The total membership of the 100 leading Trade Unions at the end of 1910 was 1,459,687.<sup>1</sup> In the coal mining there were 708,040 Union members; in the transport industry, in which are included railway servants, tramway servants, carters, seamen, dock and canal workers, etc., 242,270; in the whole of the textile industry 379,182 workers are alone returned as belonging to Unions. These naturally do not include unskilled labour, but they are sufficient to indicate, even if their families are returned at the usual figures of a wife and three children, how the action of a relatively small number of men may affect the public as a whole.

No doubt it is perfectly true that the community despairs of inducing the rivals in certain industries ever to come to lasting terms, and for that reason it falls back on Parliament as its sole refuge. Parliament, however, does often more harm than good by ill-considered action, and trade is a tender plant which a very little excess of supervision or harassing will suffice not only to damage temporarily, but also to harm permanently.

<sup>1</sup> The total membership of all the workmen's Trade Unions at the end of 1910 (Board of Trade return) was only 2,435,704, a figure since increased by the operation of the Insurance Act.



## CHAPTER XIX

### PROFIT SHARING AND CO-PARTNERSHIP

Co-PARTNERSHIP, capital-owning, or direct interest in the business, and profit sharing, otherwise participation in the profits without responsibility, may each be a partial preventative of Labour unrest, but not one will ever prove a complete panacea. The more, however, the principle is introduced, the better will be the outlook for Labour and the community in general, since its influence is stimulating, even if not actually elevating, on temperament and training. The promoters, it is true, attach much academic importance to giving men some share in responsibility, on the ground that it may fit them for higher positions and broaden their points of view; but, up to the present, it can hardly be said to have achieved that result. What it has done is somewhat to lessen friction, though in practice it does not prevent strikes, since the workers, who can combine as now and who receive the current rates of pay, resent curtailment of wages, either through diminished prosperity or the introduction of machinery; while it also helps to inspire the beneficiaries with a sense of justice, due to a fairer all-round apportionment of the world's wealth.

Few work because they like it; nearly all because

they are obliged to. There may, though, be a special attractiveness in work undertaken with the direct incentive of gain as the result of personal effort; possibly this may be the pleasure in work as idealised by Syndicalism in fulfilment. The movement is, however, only in its infancy. It should be studied, therefore, to avert the risk of failure and disappointment. With that object in view it is desirable to discuss practice, not theory, and the initial word should be with the employer. The employer first looks for a fair return on his capital; and only after this has been achieved, and on this basis only, does he draft any profit-sharing or co-partnership scheme for his workers. Five per cent. is usually the basic sum he has in mind. Several courses are then open to him to give a practical interest to his workers.

#### THE BENEFIT SYSTEM

The provision of benefits for the worker in the direction of agreeable surroundings and pleasurable conveniences. This is not strictly profit sharing, only an indirect result. This practice is followed by the great cocoa firms of Cadbury and Rowntree, and by Reckitt's.

#### THE BONUS SYSTEM

Popular, but open to the objection, if partial in its application to employees, that there is a motive behind it of sweating or "speeding up." It also incurs the risk of the charge of favouritism. Two notable firms regularly following the practice are Sir W. P. Hartley, the jam maker, of Aintree, near Liverpool (£5,000 in 1911), and Messrs. Clarke, Nickolls & Coombs, Ltd., the sweet and preserve makers, of Victoria Road, E,

(£13,250 in 1911). Many business firms also adopt the partial-bonus system. The U.S. Steel Corporation practises it as regards all its employees.

The Belfast Corporation pays its employees a certain proportion of profits, taking care in the interests of the ratepayers that the entire sum paid to each employee shall not exceed such amount as would be payable on purely commercial principles. For 1911 it distributed £2,800—£4 1s. 2d., the same amount, to each employee.

### THE SHARE SYSTEM

(a) Shares preferentially allotted. The chief instance is supplied by the South Metropolitan Gas Company. Shares were allotted to those workmen who were willing to leave on deposit with the company at 4 per cent. one-half their bonus of  $\frac{3}{4}$  per cent. earned under agreement on their wages for each penny reduction in the price of gas below 3s. 1d. per 1,000 cubic feet. The face value of the stock was about £5; the market value £13. The dividend thus divided in 1910–11 was £43,043.<sup>1</sup> Three representatives of the employees were on the board of management of nine. Thirty-six gas companies have now similar schemes. The Maypole Dairy Co. has a very similar scheme, the employees taking their percentage of increase in profits, half in shares and half in cash. Messrs. Hazell, Watson & Viney, Ltd. (printers) have also an assisted share purchase and guaranteed deposit scheme for their employees.

(b) Shares given wholly. In the soap works of Sir

<sup>1</sup> The bonus in 1912 reached  $8\frac{1}{4}$  per cent., the price of gas being 2s. 2d. The record percentage has been  $9\frac{3}{4}$  per cent.

W. H. Lever partnership certificates of 5 per cent. per £100 are issued to a fixed amount to employees having been for years with the firm, and over twenty-five years of age, the ratio being £10 for every year of service. The sum paid for 1911 was £28,708. Messrs. William Thomson & Son, Ltd., of Huddersfield (wool), and Plaistowe, Ltd. (preserves), have adopted similar schemes. There is also the scheme now in vogue at the Batley Woollen Works of Messrs. J. T. and T. Taylor, where, out of the divisible net profits, ascertained at the end of each calendar year, 5 per cent. is first paid upon Capital; any surplus is then shared between Capital and Labour at the same rate per cent. to each. Workers, however, who are twenty-one years of age, have been five years with the company, and already own shares equal to half a year's earnings, receive double bonus. These bonuses are paid by the allotment of new shares in the company, ranking for subsequent dividends in cash, but not carrying votes. Employees who leave must sell their shares to the others who remain.

(c) Bought preferentially by the workers. This may be quasi-co-partnership, if the purchase is restricted to the workers and the shares are not placed on the open market, thereby conferring on the employees a certain financial advantage. There is, though, no benefit to the workers if they are only allowed to purchase shares just as any member of the outside public.

#### PURE CO-PARTNERSHIP

There are now about one hundred and fifteen co-partnership societies, differing in detail but alike in

general idea. In 1910 the figures which show the steady growth were as follows:

Societies . . . . .	111
Capital . . . . .	£2,035,626
Trade . . . . .	£4,529,276
Profit . . . . .	£219,873
Loss . . . . .	£1,849
Dividend to Labour . . . . .	£27,097

Co-partnership is very noticeable in Leicestershire and Northamptonshire, principally in the clothing trades. Initially these concerns had in many cases difficulties, but most of them are now prosperous. Other promising enterprises of the kind exist at Glasgow (bakery), Bradford (worsted), Leicester (printing), Hebden Bridge, Yorks (fustian), and Walsall (padlocks, etc.). Grouped by trades the 111 societies in 1910 can be thus divided:

Textile . . . . .	16
Agricultural . . . . .	23
Boot and Leather . . . . .	17
Metal Trades . . . . .	10
Building and Wood . . . . .	12
Printing . . . . .	14
Various . . . . .	14
Scotch (including S.C.W.S.) . . . . .	5
Total . . . . .	<u>111</u>

As a type, take the Walsall Padlock Society; it pays Trade Union rate of wages, and  $7\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. on share capital, and then divides all extra profit between Labour and Capital. It is a purely artisan concern, but even trades abroad.

Under this category comes the famous scheme established by M. Godin at his ironworks at Guise, in the

Department of the Aisne, France. In this concern, the first charges upon the gross profits before the dividend is apportioned are the amounts for (1) depreciation of buildings and plant, (2) votes for the various Mutual Insurance Funds, (3) the expenses of education, (4) the interest (5 per cent.) payable to the owners of Savings Certificates, otherwise shares. What remains constitutes the net profit, and is divided as follows: 75 per cent. of it as dividend upon the wages of Labour and the wages (or interest) of Capital, and 25 per cent. of it as the reward of ability.

#### THE LIMITED PARTNERSHIP SCHEME

Under the Limited Partnership Act, which came into operation on January 1, 1908, a body corporate may become a limited partner (*i.e.* without liability beyond his agreed-on share) in a business without interfering with the old trade name or in any way affecting the private character of the firm. At the same time it has no real voice in management. In the case of Messrs. Gilbert Brothers, of Norwich (boots), the deed of partnership provides that after moderate salaries for the general partners, depreciation and interest on capital at 5 per cent., the remaining profit shall go to form a profit-sharing fund, until 1s. in the pound shall have been paid on wages, and after that a reserve fund. Arrangements are also made for enabling the employees eventually to pay out the general partners.

The Maison Leclaire system in Paris (painting and decorating) practically started its co-partnership on these lines, for the employees' Mutual Aid Society

took 5 per cent. on its capital and 20 per cent. of the remaining profit. Now the employees control the business. The N.O. Nelson Manufacturing Company of St. Louis, U.S.A., has a somewhat similar scheme.

Opinion differs greatly as to the effective results of a spread of the policy of co-partnership, but the Labour Co-partnership Association has commenced an agitation to bring its advantages before both employers and workmen. Up to the present the spread of the movement, while encouraging, has not satisfied its chief supporters.

## CHAPTER XX

### THE LOWER MIDDLE CLASS AND LABOUR UNREST

A FACTOR which should not be overlooked in any Labour unrest is the attitude of the underpaid lower middle class towards, and indeed their co-operation with, the artisan workers. It is common knowledge that there is already a very great measure of co-operation between the two. Thus, the organisations which especially champion the interests of clerks, are allied both to the Trade Unions and to the Labour Party—clerks, that is, who are employed in business houses. Almost all the other specialised bodies of clerks have Unions of their own. This is the case with regard to the railway clerks, whose Association numbers many thousand members, and has an extremely able Secretary in Mr. A. G. Walkden, who is standing for Parliament for West Wolverhampton. The postal clerks have an Association, and so have the postal telegraph clerks; the insurance agents have likewise Trade Unions—about twelve of them. The journalists have a Trade Union, and so have the musicians; there is also an Association of shorthand writers and typists, while among the higher-paid Government officials who come slightly above the ordinary artisan there are at least two score or more Unions. In many cases, too, the employees of the



higher grades in municipalities are also associated together. Nowadays, the Labour Party, borrowing an example from Germany, is making a special bid for the goodwill of those whom it calls “black-coated workers,” and its efforts seem to be meeting with a considerable amount of success. Indeed, if the clerks generally become affiliated with the trade-union movement, particularly in the carrying industries, they may exercise a very considerable influence on any development of Labour unrest, because from their position they naturally provide the inner organisation necessary to carry on any business, and they are sometimes drawn on in times of stress to fulfil duties for which they are not strictly engaged.

It is extremely difficult to ascertain the exact number of clerks, male and female, which there are throughout the country, but the usual estimate is that the total number is nearly 600,000. The great inrush of female labour into the clerical world has engendered a state of things which has tended to lower rapidly the average wages paid to male clerks. As a consequence, in 1890 the National Union of Clerks was formed, which in 1912 had secured a membership of 7,000.

This Union has a definite programme which embraces a minimum wage of 35s. for a forty-two hours week, the abolition as far as is possible of all overtime, but, where such is unavoidable, the payment of the same at certain trades-union rates. This programme applies to both sexes. The present average wage of all clerks, male and female, is generally estimated to be approximately 27s. per week. The programme of the National Union also includes the limitation of the number of juniors, termed “apprentices,” to 25 per cent. of the

total number of clerks in any office, and the inclusion of clerks and clerical work in the "Fair Wages Clause" of Government and Municipal contracts, and the contracts of other public bodies. It may be pointed out that some clerks employed by the Government at the present time receive only 25s. a week. Already certain of the public authorities have adopted the minimum wage recommended by the National Union, and have also agreed to clerical work being included in the "Fair Wages Clause" of all their contracts. Norwich, Hartlepool, and Leeds have adopted this course.

It is also sought to compel employers to give character notes whenever required to employees, while, as showing the nature of the work carried out by the National Union of Clerks, it may be mentioned that they have established a Bureau giving the character of employers, so that a member in securing a new appointment may call at the office of his Union to ascertain the character which his new employer bears amongst present and past employees.

The clerical world is naturally much overcrowded, and it is calculated that in normal times, when business is quite up to the average, the proportion of unemployment amongst clerks is never lower than 3 per cent.

Shop assistants, warehousemen, and clerks are also catered for by the National Amalgamated Union. Chiefly the members of this body are shop assistants, and clerks employed in shops, who are practically, of course, shop assistants themselves. There are about 750,000 shop assistants in the British Isles, and the number of members in the National Amalgamated Union and kindred societies is about 80,000, the National Union also possessing funds amounting to about

£40,000. There is a London Conciliation and Arbitration Board which deals with certain matters affecting London, but generally speaking the machinery for settling disputes which may arise between shopkeepers and their assistants is very scanty.

The National Amalgamated Union has a membership of over 50,000, of whom more than one-seventh are women. Its numbers were more than doubled in 1912 by new members joining under the Insurance Act.

For three years past this society has been considering the question of a minimum wage for shop assistants, and has prosecuted campaigns for the same purpose at numerous provincial towns, the minimum asked varying in different towns. A general minimum has been decided upon for junior workers as follows :

Age (years)	.	.	.	16	17	18	19	20
Boys (per week)	.	.	.	10s.	12s.	15s.	18s.	21s.
Girls (per week)	.	.	.	9s.	11s.	13s.	15s.	17s.

The National Amalgamated Union deprecates the employment in shops of children under the age of sixteen, but where such are employed, asks for minima of 6s. and 5s. per week for boys and girls respectively of fourteen years, and 8s. and 7s. per week for boys and girls of fifteen years. Further, the Union is opposed to the living-in system which is common to drapery and other trades, on the grounds that it enables the employer to dictate to his workers the spending of half their salaries.

On the employers' side there are many societies for the protection of the interests of shopkeepers. The chief of these are the Grocers' Federation, to which a large number of local Grocers' Associations are

associated, the Association of Trade Protection Societies of the United Kingdom, the London Drapers' Chamber of Trade, and the National Chamber of Trade, all composed of affiliated local associations, such associations in the case of the last two Chambers being chiefly associations of drapers.

Mr. J. A. Seddon, who is the chief spokesman for the shop assistants and clerks, is a former President of the National Amalgamated Union of Shop Assistants and Clerks. He is a fluent and sensible speaker, who sat as a Labour member in Parliament from 1906-10, for the Newton division of South-west Lancashire, being defeated by Viscount Wolmer. He is forty-four years of age and was formerly a grocer's assistant.

Mr. J. Macpherson, the General Secretary of the National Amalgamated Union, is a Scotsman who claims to be a Syndicalist. He is, however, a very tactful and able negotiator, whose services are much valued by his members.

Mr. H. H. Elvin, the Secretary of the National Union of Clerks, is a clever organiser and an indefatigable worker. It is largely due to his efforts that the National Union has made such strides.

## CHAPTER XXI

### SUMMARY OF LABOUR LEGISLATION

LEGISLATION controlling the relations between employers and employed has been in existence for centuries ; but the Acts from which the possibilities of united legal action on the part of Trade Unions, to impose conditions of service upon employers, date from the later half of last century, beginning practically in 1870. Here are the chief measures affecting the workers briefly described.

An Act to abolish Attachment of Wages was passed in 1870.

The Trade Union Acts, 1871 and 1876. The first of these Acts legalised the combinations of workmen known as Trade Unions, which before were classified as unlawful combinations, by reason of some one or more of their purposes being in restraint of trade. The Act of 1876, known as an Act to Amend the Trade Union Act, 1871, extended these principles ; and it is to these two Acts that Trade Unionism, as it is known to-day, whether unions of employers or workers, or federations of such unions, exists.

The Masters' and Workmen's Conciliation Act, 1872. An Act which provides for arbitration in districts, and allows for the making of voluntary agreements between

employers and employed, such agreements being legal contracts.

The Hosiery Act, 1874. An Act making it illegal for a hosiery manufacturer to charge rent for frames and machinery used by his employees.

The Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act, 1875. The Act which allowed two or more persons to act together in regard to trade disputes, and laid down that such conduct would not be indictable as a conspiracy "if such act committed by one person would not be punishable as a crime." Practically an extension of the powers given by the Trade Union Act of 1871. Sub-sections 4 and 5 are designed to prevent persons engaged in the public supply of gas or water wilfully breaking contracts, if by such action a town will be deprived of such gas or water, and also to prevent workmen breaking contracts if the result of so doing endangers human life, or causes "serious bodily injury," or exposes "valuable" property to destruction or injury.

The Employers and Workmen Act, 1875. The Act which altered the relationship between the two classes of society from "masters and servants" to "employers and workmen." The Act which endeavoured to establish equality before the law as regards labour contracts.

The Factory Act, 1878. This was an Act which fixed the "working day," made provisions as to "pauses," holidays, regulation of workshops, and employment of children. In 1901 this Act was modified, strengthened, and extended, especially with regard to the matter of accidents, provision to enforce safety, new and fuller regulations for the control of injurious

and dangerous occupations, and the control of overtime, outwork, and other matters. The age of employment for children was definitely raised, by the Act of 1901, from ten years to twelve. Various acts of different character from 1883 to 1895 also had some bearing upon the questions embodied in the Act of 1901; but the Act of 1878 was the first step towards establishing the responsibility of employers in the matter of the provision of proper conditions of labour. From 1872 to 1899 four Acts were passed establishing certain regulations as to the employment of shop assistants.

The Employers' Liability Act, 1880. The Act which established the right of employees and servants to recover compensation from employers for injuries sustained in the course of their employment. First made temporary, to endure for seven years only, but afterwards continued, and amended in 1906.

The Bankruptcy Act of 1883 gave priority to claims for wages due to workers in the event of the bankruptcy of employer, such claims ranking next to rates and taxes, and taking precedence of ordinary trade liabilities, etc.

The Coal Mines Regulation Act, 1887. Stiffened provisions previously made for providing for piece-work in mines—miners being paid by weight of the coal got, and not by measurement. It gave the miners freedom to appoint check weighmen, to see that the employers' representative weighed the coal correctly. It was slightly amended in 1894, the check weighmen being given a position of greater independence.

The Act to Amend and Extend the Law relating to Truck, 1887. The Act which extended the pro-

## 270 PEACEFUL PICKETING ALLOWED, 1906

visions of the Truck Act of 1831, allowing greater protection to workers in the matter of payment of wages and the spending of same.

The Trade Union (Provident Funds) Act, 1893. The Act which placed all Trade Unions providing for provident benefits similar to friendly societies, on the same footing as such societies as regards exemption from income tax.

Merchant Shipping Act, 1894. The Act which controlled the engagement of seamen, the conditions of service, etc., since displaced by the Merchant Shipping Act, 1906.

Employment of Children Act, 1903. This Act still further established the character and limitations of child employment.

Notice of Accidents Act, 1906. This Act amended and made more stringent the system governing the notification of accidents amongst workers.

Workmen's Compensation Act, 1906. Under this Act every description of manual labourer, male and female, is entitled to receive compensation from employers for damage suffered while engaged in employment.

Merchant Shipping Act, 1906. An Act of enormous importance to all persons engaged on board ship, regulating conditions of employment, terms of engagement, discharge, etc. Likely to become a source of controversy in the near future.

Trades Disputes Act, 1906. The Act which secures immunity for the funds of Trade Unions, and establishes the right of workers to practise the much-debated "peaceful picketing."

Old Age Pensions Act, 1908. The first Act to



provide relief, other than Poor Law Relief, for aged workers of both sexes, subject to certain restrictions.

Port of London Authority Act, 1908. A measure which took the proprietorship and control of the docks on the Thames out of the hands of the various dock companies and handed the same over to a Committee representative of various interests in the Port. Actually a very important step in the direction of State control and management of industry, but one which has scarcely had the success which was expected.

Coal Mines Regulation Act, 1908. Under this Act hours of labour in mines were restricted to eight per day. According to statements made in Parliament, the output per person employed in the coal mines of the country has declined nearly 5 per cent. since the introduction of the Act.

Trade Boards Act, 1909. An Act which practically secured State control of certain sweated industries, and established the principle of a minimum wage in such industries.

Labour Exchanges Act, 1909. An Act in which the State attempts to deal with the question of unemployment, and undertakes the distribution of Labour to districts where it is needed.

Shop Hours Act, 1911. An Act which established regulations respecting the hours worked and conditions of labour in the greater number of shops, other than workshops, throughout the country, providing for a weekly half-holiday and Sunday closing in such shops.

Coal Mines (Minimum Wage) Act, 1912. Fixed a minimum wage for workmen employed underground in coal mines and the method for securing it.

With the object of reversing, at least in part, the

effect of the Osborne Judgment by enabling the majority of the members of a Union, after a ballot, to apply funds to political purposes, any dissentients being freed from contributions on signing an exemption notice, the Government have introduced the Trade Unions (No. 2) Bill, 1912.

Appended is a précis of the chief labour legislation in other countries :

#### CANADA

There are two Acts in Canada which are attracting special attention.

The Conciliation and Labour Act (1906), which was passed as a result of the great Canadian railway strike of the nineties, is confined to railways, and is practically absorbed into the vastly more important—

Industrial Disputes Investigation Act (1907), an Act “to aid in the prevention and settlement of strikes and lock-outs in mines and industries connected with public utilities.”

The basis of the Act, which is in the hands of the Minister of Labour, is that an investigation by the Government must precede any strike or lock-out, which is otherwise illegal until the proceedings are concluded, the view being that the wide publicity given to the proceedings of the investigation will affect the consensus of public opinion, and compel parties to come to an agreement. Public utilities are defined to be “mines, transportation service, railway, steam and electric, and steamship lines, telegraphs, telephones, gas, electric light, water and power works.” When either the employers or the employees feel that a strike is imminent, due to wages, hours of employment, etc., the onus is on the party proposing changes in wages or hours to ask

the Government to appoint a Conciliation and Investigation Board, and the Government must do so. It is composed of three persons, all paid by the State, one nominated by the employers, one by the employees, and the third, the Chairman, by both. Failing an agreed Chairman, the Minister of Labour makes the appointment; and if neither the employers nor the employees will nominate a member of the Board, the Government nominates, if necessary, all the members. The Board being constituted, it first of all tries to bring about an amicable agreement between the parties, but failing this, it holds an exhaustive inquiry into all the circumstances, it having power to compel testimony, on oath, to call for the production of papers, to employ expert assistance, and to inspect factories, workshops, and similar buildings. Counsel may represent the parties, if the Board agrees, and the proceedings are to be public, unless otherwise determined. The decisions of a majority of the Board shall be the award, and the Board finally reports to the Minister, who publishes the finding.

For locking out his men contrary to the Act, an employer is liable to a fine ranging from £20 to £200 a day or part of a day; any striker or abettor can be fined £2 to £10 a day. The Act has worked extremely well, and many strikes have been averted. In 1910 thirty investigations were held, and there were only four following strikes—two in collieries and two in mines, where Union recognition was the question at issue. In one case strikers were penalised for not invoking the Act before coming out. The working of the Act was even more satisfactory in 1911.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Sir George Askwith was sent to Canada (1912) to study this legislation for the British Government.

## SOUTH AFRICA

In 1909 an Industrial Disputes Act was passed in the Transvaal Parliament. The Bill was modelled on practically identical lines with the Canadian Act, changes being made merely to suit differences in local conditions. The Bill received the support of all sections of Parliament, the principle of conciliation and investigation being accepted in preference to that of compulsory arbitration.

## AUSTRALIA

*Legislative Regulation of Wages and Terms of Contract*

A "Wage Board" system, fixing wages, hours of work, and terms of contract, exists in New South Wales, Victoria, Queensland, South Australia, and Tasmania, and an Arbitration Court in Western Australia. These Acts fix an absolute minimum weekly wage, and are known by various names; for instance, the Industrial Disputes Act, in New South Wales, and "Factory Act" Legislation elsewhere. There is also the Arbitration Court of the Commonwealth, which has power, however, only to deal with inter-State matters. Victoria (1896) provides the typical working. The Minister administering the Factory Acts decides, in reply to representations endorsed by Parliament, whether or not such a Special Board (four to ten members) should be constituted, and he nominates a Board equally from names sent in by representatives of both parties in the trade. If the nominations are objected to, an election is held by post ballot. The members elect their own Chairman, or failing agreement he is nominated by the Governor in Council, and he has power to vote. When a "determination" regarding wages is arrived at, it is

gazetted, but either side can appeal to the Court of Industrial Appeal, whose decision is final, and remains fixed until revised by it; the Board itself cannot alter it. The determinations are enforced under severe penalties by the Factories and Shops Department. The system applies to all adults and all juvenile workers in all trades, is very popular and much used. Only one award in about seventeen is appealed against. New South Wales, by the Minimum Wages Act (1908), fixed a weekly wage of not less than 4s. for all persons coming within the definition of "workman" or "shop assistant." It is officially stated that the operation of the Act has bettered the monetary position of the operatives. Gross sweating has been stopped.

The Industrial Disputes Act of New South Wales has proved far more speedy in its remedial effects than did the Arbitration Act which it allowed to lapse.

The Queensland Legislative Assembly has just introduced an Industrial Boards Bill, somewhat on the Canadian lines. A compulsory conference under the chairmanship of a judge must precede any strike or lock-out, and even if this fails a secret ballot, officially conducted, must then be taken of both employers and men. Heavy fines are fixed for infringement of the Act or failure to observe awards.

### *The Arbitration Court System*

The Acts in force are :

- |                 |   |
|-----------------|---|
| South Australia | . The Conciliation Act (1894).                                    |
| West Australia  | . The Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Acts (1892-9).      |
| Commonwealth    | . The Commonwealth Conciliation and Arbitration Acts (1904-9-10). |

The Commonwealth and West Australian Acts

absolutely forbid strikes and lock-outs. The New South Wales Acts, which expired in 1908, specifically forbade them, prior to or during the pendency of a case, leaving events after award to be dealt with by the Government. Its principles are largely followed in the other States, but it proved abortive in operation in its own State, where it has been largely superseded by the Wages Board. Tasmania has, by vote of the Upper House, rejected compulsory arbitration. The Commonwealth Act only applies to inter-State matters.

Under the existing Acts employers and employed wishful to take advantage of them are compelled to form Industrial Unions or organisations for administration of the law affecting the particular trade. The two parties may settle disputes and conditions of labour by industrial agreements, which are registered and have the force of law. They are enforceable against the parties and such other organisations and persons as signify their intention to be bound by an agreement. Failing agreement, disputes are settled by reference to the Court, which consists of a judge of the State Supreme Court or the Commonwealth High Court, as the case may be. In the State he is assisted by two members, chosen by, and appointed to represent, the employer and employed. Technical assessors may also be called in to sit and advise. The Court makes awards on all industrial matters concerning employers and employed—practically nothing is excluded. The Court may fix penalties, and enforce them under legal authorisation, for breaches of any award; it may prescribe a minimum rate of wage, and (save in Western Australia), as regards employment, direct that preference shall be given to members of Unions. The

Commonwealth Court is to bring about conciliation in preference to arbitration, and to such a decision it can give the force of an award. During recent years the industrial relations in several important industries have been regulated by industrial agreement, thus avoiding the necessity of having recourse to the Court of Arbitration. It should be stated that Boards of Conciliation, whose awards had no binding force, failed for that reason in Victoria (1891) and New South Wales (1892). In Western Australia there are also Boards of Conciliation now; they consist of the representatives of the employers and employed, but they are practically obsolete, as their awards nearly always entail appeals. The States have included their railway and tramway employees and certain other public servants under the working of the Act. It has been settled by the High Court that non-Unionists cannot be compelled by an Arbitration Court to join a Union after obtaining work, and that an employer is not obliged to make first application for labour to the Union.

#### NEW ZEALAND

In New Zealand the machinery for dealing with trade disputes is provided in the Act entitled Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Act (1908), which has an amending Act passed in the same year. Put briefly, the country is divided into Industrial Districts: societies of both workmen and employers in any industry are registered as an Industrial Union; the two together will form an Industrial Association. These societies, or this association, deals with practically all industrial matters—wages, hours, conditions of employment, employment of women and children, and so forth. If

these fail to agree on a specific topic which may be brought forward by one side or the other, the matter is referred to a Council of Conciliation. Each side appoints one, two, or three assessors, who are presided over by a Government Conciliation Commissioner. This Council of Conciliation has no compulsory powers, but if it does arrive at an agreement it holds good for three years or longer, unless superseded by another agreement. Should, however, the Council fail to adjust the difference, the matter goes to a Court of Arbitration. This consists of three members—one nominated by the various Unions of employers in the country and one by the Unions of the workers, the third being a permanent judge possessing the same powers and privileges as the judge of the Supreme Court. The verdict of the majority is binding on all the parties concerned. As a result, strikes and lock-outs are illegal, if the parties concerned are bound by an award or agreement, and heavy penalties for taking part in them are decreed by law. Strikes and lock-outs in the industries concerned are forbidden by the Council or the Court of Arbitration under very heavy penalties.

Strikes and lock-outs are, of course, permissible in trades where this machinery does not exist. There are, however, special provisions in the case of strikes and lock-outs in industries affecting the supply of the necessities of life, such as water, milk, meat, coal, gas or electricity, or in the working of any ferry, tramway, or railway used for the public carriage of goods or passengers. In these industries, whether affected by an award or agreement or not, fourteen days' notice must be given within one month of an intended strike or lock-out, failing which each worker concerned is liable



on summary conviction before a magistrate to a maximum fine of £25, or an employer to a maximum fine of £500. The maximum penalty for inciting, aiding, or abetting in these cases is £25 for a worker and £500 for an employer or Union or Association. Still, experience has shown that penalties are nowadays indifferently enforced, and the law presents few terrors for the worker who resolves to strike. The Government, moreover, for reasons of its own, usually proceeds against the Union concerned and not against its individual members. Strikes and lock-outs in the industries concerned are forbidden during the hearing of a dispute by the Council or the Court of Arbitration.

#### OTHER COUNTRIES

The Voluntary Conciliation and Arbitration Boards and Committees, which play so large a part in the settlement of industrial disputes in the United Kingdom, are rarely found in other countries. Most of them have legislation of the kind more or less tentative in character, and almost without exception on a purely voluntary basis. In the United States several methods of conciliation and arbitration exist, but the most common is that of the Central State Board or Commission. Only in a few cases does power to enforce awards exist. In the United States, indeed, the new Canadian Act is now being studied with a view to possible adoption by some of the States. On the whole, the foreign record of Labour legislation, or of unofficial attempts to settle industrial disputes, does not yield any lesson for this country. It cannot be said, owing to its lack of finality, that conciliation work abroad averts serious disputes.

## CHAPTER XXII

### THE ORDINARY WORKING MAN'S WEEKLY BUDGET

To understand the exact lines upon which the ordinary workman arranges for the spending of his weekly wage, it is best to give specific instances taken from actual life, recollecting that while the standard of living has risen there has not been much increase in the actual cost of living in recent years. In the one case the typical figures are supplied by workers in the East End, while in the other case the details are officially put forward by the Railway Clerks' Union, not as indicating what the clerk does receive, for his wage is only about 35s., but what he may be compelled to pay. These have a special value as showing that financial stringency not only affects the lower working class, but also the lower middle class, whose difficulty is correspondingly great, and whose sympathies therefore are entirely in unison with those of the artisan, with whom now in many cases he is making common accord. The Labour Party has, through its Chairman, already announced that it will welcome the co-operation of those whom it calls "black-coated" workers.

So much has been written about the earnings of dockers that the working-class Budgets given below

## DOCKERS' EARNINGS—EXPENDITURE 281

supply details of the wages and household expenditure of three of the permanent staff of the Port of London Authority.

The first one represents the average earnings and the manner in which the money is laid out of a docker who belongs to what is known as the "A" Section of the permanent men of the Port of London Authority. The "A" men, it may be pointed out, are practically weekly servants who escape the disadvantages which are attendant on the life of the ordinary casual labourer.

Budget No. 2 gives the expenditure and average wage of a man engaged on the first class of the "B" Section of the registered staff of the Port of London Authority. The work of this man is of a more casual character than that of a man in the "A" Section.

The third example gives the wages and expenditure of a dock labourer who is registered in the second class of the "B" Section of the Port Authority's permanent servants. His work is of a far more casual character than that of his two more fortunate colleagues.

The names and addresses of the two men of the "B" Section can be supplied on application.

### WEEKLY BUDGET, NO. 1

MAN, WIFE, AND FOUR CHILDREN

Wages, £1 8s. per week

*A. E. Mears, 47, Alexandra Street, Canning Town, E.*

	£	s.	d.
Rent . . . . .	0	7	6
Coals and gas . . . . .	0	1	9
Soap, soda, etc. . . . .	0	0	7
Bread . . . . .	0	5	3
Potatoes . . . . .	0	0	9
Carried forward . . . . .	£0	15	10

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	0	15	10
Vegetables and haricot beans, etc.	0	0	7
Butter	0	1	2
Dripping	0	0	8
Tea	0	0	7
Sugar	0	0	9
Treacle	0	0	3
Flour	0	0	6
Currants	0	0	3
Milk	0	1	0
Meat	0	2	0
Fish	0	0	6
Insurance	0	0	7
Sick Benefit Society	0	0	3
Clothing, boots, etc.	0	2	6
	<u>£1</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>0</u>

## WEEKLY BUDGET, NO. 2

MAN, WIFE, AND FOUR CHILDREN

*Address, Donald Road, Plaistow, E.*

	£	s.	d.
Rent	0	7	0
Coals	0	1	2
Gas	0	0	6
Soap, soda, starch, etc.	0	0	7
Insurance	0	0	7
Sick Benefit Society	0	0	6
Dockers' Union	0	0	3
Clothing, boots, and leather for mending boots, etc.	0	2	0
Meat	0	1	6
Bread and flour	0	5	0
Sugar and treacle	0	1	0
Tea	0	0	7
Condensed milk	0	0	10
Fish (herrings)	0	0	6
Mutton fat for dripping	0	0	6
Potatoes, greens, and haricot beans	0	1	8
Butter	0	0	10
	<u>£1</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>0</u>

# A MIDDLE-CLASS BUDGET

283

## WEEKLY BUDGET, NO. 3

MAN, WIFE, AND THREE CHILDREN

*Address, Gossett Street, Bethnal Green, E.*

	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Rent for 2 rooms . . . . .	5	6
Insurance for five . . . . .	0	6
Coals, $\frac{1}{3}$ cwt. . . . .	0	8
Oil . . . . .	0	6
Wood . . . . .	0	3
Soda . . . . .	0	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
Soap. . . . .	0	4
Blue. . . . .	0	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
Matches . . . . .	0	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
Candles . . . . .	0	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
Hearthstone . . . . .	0	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
Blacklead . . . . .	0	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
Pepper . . . . .	0	0 $\frac{1}{4}$
Salt . . . . .	0	0 $\frac{1}{4}$
Bread . . . . .	2	0
Flour, $\frac{1}{2}$ quartern . . . . .	0	5 $\frac{1}{2}$
Rice, 2 lbs. . . . .	0	3
Tea, $\frac{1}{4}$ lb. . . . .	0	3 $\frac{1}{2}$
Cocoa, $\frac{1}{4}$ lb. . . . .	0	3
Milk. . . . .	0	6
Butter, 1 lb. . . . .	0	10
Dripping, 1 lb. . . . .	0	6
Meat . . . . .	2	6
Sugar, 3 lbs. . . . .	0	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
Potatoes, 14 lbs. . . . .	0	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
Expenses to and from work @ 4 <i>d.</i> per day . . . . .	2	0
	<u>19</u>	<u>3<math>\frac{1}{2}</math></u>

## THE LOWER MIDDLE CLASS

A RAILWAY CLERK WITH WIFE AND THREE CHILDREN

	<i>£</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Rent . . . . .	£17	0 <i>s.</i>	
Rates (if not included in rent) . . . . .	£3	15 <i>s.</i>	
Season ticket—Tram fares to and from office . . . . .	0	0	2
Coal, 2 cwts. @ 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ <i>d.</i> per cwt. (Winter, 3 cwts.; Summer, 1 cwt.) . . . . .	0	1	9
Carried forward . . . . .	£20	9	11

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward . . . . .	0	9	11
Firewood, 5 bundles @ 2d.; Matches, $\frac{1}{2}$ d. . . . .	0	0	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
Gas and other lighting (1d. per day Summer, 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per day Autumn, 2d. per day Winter) . . . . .	0	0	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
Soap, soda, blacking, blacklead, polishes, and washtub extras . . . . .	0	0	9
Laundry, white shirt, 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ d., 4 collars, 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. (wife does rest of washing) . . . . .	0	0	7
Renewals of household effects, i.e. 5 % depreciation £100, value of household effects . . . . .	0	0	11
Bread, 12 loaves @ 3d. each . . . . .	0	3	0
Flour, $\frac{1}{4}$ stone, medium quality, 2s. a stone . . . . .	0	0	6
Meat, 6 lbs. @ 10d. per lb. . . . .	0	5	0
Fish, 2 lbs. @ 6d. per lb. . . . .	0	1	0
Bacon, 2 lbs. @ 11d. per lb. . . . .	0	1	10
Butter, 2 lbs. @ 1s. 3d. per lb. . . . .	0	2	6
Milk, 12 pints @ 2d. per pint ( $\frac{1}{2}$ of quantity allowed by Poor Guardians) . . . . .	0	2	0
Eggs, 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ doz. @ 1s. 3d. per doz. . . . .	0	1	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
Cooking Butter, $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. @ 1s. per lb. . . . .	0	0	6
Cheese, 1 lb. @ 10d. per lb. . . . .	0	0	10
Tea, $\frac{1}{4}$ lb. @ 2s. per lb. . . . .	0	0	6
Cocoa, $\frac{1}{4}$ lb. @ 2s. per lb. . . . .	0	0	6
Sugar, 4 lbs. @ 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per lb. . . . .	0	0	10
Jams, jellies, blancmanges, preserved fruit or fish . . . . .	0	1	0
Oatmeal, $\frac{1}{2}$ stone @ 2s. 4d. per stone . . . . .	0	1	2
Currants, raisins, sultanas, prunes . . . . .	0	0	4
Salt, mustard, pepper, vinegar, sauces, pickles, yeast, baking powder . . . . .	0	0	3
Vegetables, 2d. per day . . . . .	0	1	2
Fresh fruit, 1d. per day . . . . .	0	0	7
Boots (including repairs): Man, 2 pairs @ 12s. 6d.; wife, 2 pairs @ 10s. 6d.; children, 3 pairs each @ 5s. Repairs, £1 per annum . . . . .	0	2	2
Clothing: self as list, 2s. 11d.; wife as list, 3s. 3d.; children as list, 1s. 2d. . . . .	0	7	4
Mending materials . . . . .	0	0	6
Barber . . . . .	0	0	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
Superannuation . . . . .	0	1	6
Insurance: wife 6d.; children 2d. each, 6d. . . . .	0	1	0
Sick Club or Doctor; man 7d.; wife 8d.; children 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. monthly . . . . .	0	0	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
Trade Union . . . . .	0	0	3
Holidays . . . . .	0	2	6
Postages, $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per day . . . . .	0	0	3 $\frac{1}{2}$
Newspaper and books . . . . .	0	0	10
	£2	15	7

DETAILS *re* CLOTHING, ETC.

	Boots	£	s.	d.	
Man, 2 pairs @ 12s. 6d.	.	1	5	0	
Woman, 2 pairs @ 10s. 6d.	.	1	1	0	
Children, 3 pairs each @ 5s.	.	2	5	0	
Repairs for all	.	1	0	0	
		<u>£5</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>0</u>	= 2s. 2d. per week,

## CLOTHING

Children @ £1 each . . . 3 0 0 = 1s. 2d. per week,

*Man*

1 Suit per year, with extra pair of trousers . . .	3	10	0	
1 Overcoat every 2 years, £3 . . .	1	10	0	
3 Outside shirts @ 3s. 6d. each . . .	0	10	6	
3 Under shirts @ 3s. 6d. each . . .	0	10	6	
2 Pair Pants @ 3s. 6d. per pair . . .	0	7	0	
4 Pair Socks @ 1s. 6d. per pair . . .	0	6	0	
1 Doz. Collars . . .	0	4	6	
3 Ties @ 1s. each . . .	0	3	0	
Night clothes, every 2 years, 7s. 6d. . .	0	3	9	
Felt Hat . . .	0	4	6	
Cap . . .	0	2	6	
	<u>£7</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>3</u>	= 2s. 11d. per week.

*Woman*

1 Cloak or coat every 2 years £2 2s. 0d.	1	1	0	
1 Costume . . .	2	10	0	
1 Working skirt . . .	0	15	0	
1 Best blouse . . .	0	12	6	
3 Washing blouses @ 3s. 6d. each . . .	0	10	6	
Hats (Best 15s., Usual wear 7s.) . . .	1	2	0	
2 Slip bodices @ 1s. . . .	0	2	0	
Corsets . . . .	0	5	0	
Combinations (Summer suit 5s. 6d., Winter suit 7s. 6d.) . . .	0	13	0	
Stockings, 4 pairs @ 1s. 6d. . . .	0	6	0	
Nightdress . . . .	0	3	6	
Aprons (1 Drugget @ 1s. 2d., 3 Prints @ 1s.) . . . .	0	4	2	
Gloves . . . .	0	3	6	
	<u>£8</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>2</u>	= 3s. 3d. per week,

Man . . . . . 2s. 11d. per week,  
 Woman . . . . . 3s. 3d. " "  
 Children , , , , , 1s. 2d. " "





## APPENDIX A

### TRADE AND THE LABOUR CRISIS

THE Chambers of Commerce and business men generally have all been discussing the Unrest. Thus, the Associated Chambers of Commerce, at the meeting in London on March 12, 1912, passed the following resolution :

“That in view of the fact that the resolution passed in Dublin last autumn asking for a Commission to inquire into the working of the Trade Disputes Act, 1906, has been productive of no results, and inasmuch as the position produced by the Acts of 1871 and 1906 is one of complete irresponsibility of Trade Unions for wrongful acts, a state of things which is improper, and moreover creates a privileged class which is not subject to the ordinary laws of this Realm, and, further, as it is the fact, as stated by the Prime Minister on October 30th last, with regard to peaceful picketing, that ‘it is not the inadequacy of the law that constitutes the difficulty; it is the impossibility of securing evidence,’ this Association respectfully asks his Majesty’s Government to amend these Acts at an early date.”

An amendment was defeated proposing that :

“The two Canadian Acts known as the Conciliation and Labour Act and the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act, should, with the necessary modifications, be adopted in this country.”

The Chambers of Commerce of the British Empire on June 14, 1912, passed the following resolution :

“That this Congress re-affirms the previous resolution in favour of amicable methods of preventing strikes and lock-outs, and urges upon Chambers of Commerce the desirability of forming Boards of Conciliation and Arbitration, composed of elected representatives of employers and employed, for the settlement of Labour disputes in their respective districts, where such do not already exist, and considers it should be made penal to organise a strike or declare a lock-out until any matter in dispute has been inquired into and reported upon by such Boards.”

There was some opposition to the penal clause.

On June 21, 1912, a deputation from the Associated Chambers of Commerce waited on the Prime Minister to urge various representations in regard to Labour Unrest, including :

- (1) Financial responsibility of Unions.
- (2) Prevention of intimidation.
- (3) Compulsory arbitration.
- (4) Co-partnership for profit-sharing.
- (5) Increase of friendly relations between employer and employed.

The Prime Minister promised investigations of the various proposals, remarking :

“I am hopeful, in view of some recent experiences, that those who represent the workmen in Trade Unions will more and more come to see that those who enter into industrial agreements of this kind should be expected to enter into them with the assurance on one side and the other that they will be adequately and faithfully observed. There can be absolutely no partiality. Each side ought to be exposed to the same risks and the same liabilities.”

The report of the Special Commission of the London Chamber of Commerce (Nov. 30, 1911) recommended :

“Apart from any questions relating to the methods by which employers individually or collectively may determine to carry on their own business, remedies for Labour unrest can to some extent be provided by legislation. They therefore recommend :

“(1) The repeal or amendment of Sections 2, 3 and 4 of the Trade Disputes Act, 1906, with special reference to the provisions as to ‘peaceful picketing,’ and the limitation of the responsibilities of trade-unions for damages incurred in respect of strikes organised by them.

“(2) The enlargement of the powers of Voluntary Boards of Conciliation and Arbitration under the Conciliation Act, so as to provide for the enforcement of awards and agreements made between employers and employed and the prevention of lock-outs and strikes without due notice being given.

“(3) That effective provision be made for the maintenance of law and order in the interests of the general community, and for the full protection of those willing to work, and that such further legislative action be taken as will secure freedom of labour and of commerce as well as the protection of life and property.

“(4) That the statutory monopoly now enjoyed by a privileged class of watermen and lightermen in regard to the navigation of barges and similar craft on the river Thames should be repealed in order to provide for the freer navigation of the waters of the Port of London.

“(5) That the foregoing recommendations be formally presented to his Majesty’s Government with a request that effect should be given thereto at the earliest possible date.

“(6) That a copy of this report be sent to all members of both Houses of Parliament.”

The Committee further recommended that employers of labour should be urged to federate in order to protect their mutual interests, and that the Chamber should give its approval to the proposal for the establishment of a Volunteer Police Force as explained in a letter which had been addressed to the Chamber by the promoters of the proposal.

Finally, Sir C. W. Macara, Chairman of the Industrial

Council, has recommended the appointment of an Industrial Court, which—to use his own words—“would involve the creation of a new department, with a permanent non-political chairman, and staff, together with an advisory body consisting of the men both on the side of Capital and Labour, who hold the most prominent positions in connection with the staple industries of the country, men who have had to deal with the general disputes which have occurred from time to time in these industries. Of course, the proposed advisory body would only be called together in the event of a deadlock arising in disputes affecting the staple industries, which are interdependent and which seriously affect the national welfare. Smaller disputes would be dealt with by the permanent official staff.

“The work of this new department is not intended to interfere in the slightest degree with the existing organisations of employers or workmen or existing Conciliation Boards. I am, and always have been, entirely in favour of collective bargaining. I want to see both the employers’ and workmen’s organisations as strong as possible. What my scheme suggests is that when efficiently organised bodies come to a deadlock in negotiations over a disputed matter, they should take their case before a tribunal capable of giving an impartial decision. My proposals follow the lines of the Brooklands Agreement in the cotton industry. The dispute would be taken for the time being out of the hands of the combatants. They would be free to accept the offices of the independent tribunal and state their case to men representing the widest experience of both Capital and Labour. There is no suggestion of arbitrarily enforcing that tribunal’s decision. On the contrary, both parties will have perfect freedom to reject or accept it, and my proposals contain nothing to prevent the employers ultimately declaring a lock-out, or the workmen coming out on strike. What the tribunal would ensure is

that the matters in dispute would have calm and dispassionate consideration, and as a consequence the finding of the tribunal would carry great weight.

“Before such a tribunal as I suggest, I am convinced that genuine grievances would receive a fair hearing, and exorbitant demands would be condemned. Capital and Labour each has its rights, which in the interests of both must be respected.”

## APPENDIX B

### THE MANNING SCALE IN EXISTENCE

THE present requirements as to manning are first those as to emigrant ships, and second those that apply to ships of all other classes.

1. Section 305 of the Merchant Shipping Act, 1894, provides that "every emigrant ship shall be manned with an efficient crew for her intended voyage to the satisfaction of the emigrant officer from whom a certificate of clearance for the ship is demanded." With the object of securing uniformity in the requirements of the law, as enforced at the different ports by the emigration officers, the Board of Trade have issued "Instructions relating to emigrant ships"; and these instructions specify what the minimum requirements as to manning shall be.

Paragraph 22 deals with deck manning, and paragraph 23 with the manning of the engine-room and stokehold. Paragraph 22 bases the number of deck hands to be carried on the total capacity of boats and rafts required under Life Saving Appliances Rules; at present the highest figure in the scale is 48 deck hands required for a total capacity of between 9,300 and 9,700 cubic feet. This corresponds to the vessel of 10,000 tons gross and upwards, which is the highest figure in the table in the Life Saving Appliances Rules. Accordingly, the scale of deck manning is based directly on a total capacity of boats and rafts and

indirectly on the gross tonnage. It may simply be stated that the deck manning is presumed to be adequate for the proper lowering and manning of boats.

Paragraph 23 of the Instructions as to emigrant ships lays down a minimum manning for the engine-room and stokehold. The number of engineers, donkeymen, greasers, and store-keepers varies with the nominal horse-power of the engines. The number of firemen is based on the area of the fire-grate surface, the rule being based on the estimated coal consumption. The minimum requirements laid down for the manning of the engine-room and stokehold, for which the only legal authority is Section 305, are obviously based on the view that an emigrant ship cannot be regarded as "manned with an efficient crew for her intended voyage" unless she has an adequate engine-room and stokehold staff.

2. Apart from emigrant ships, the only requirements of the Board of Trade with regard to manning are those contained in Circular 1463, which apply to foreign-going steamers, whether passenger or cargo ships, as well as to home trade and coasting steamers, and sailing ships without regard to their voyage. These requirements are based on Section 459 and Section 462 of the Merchant Shipping Act, 1894, as amended by the Merchant Shipping Act, 1897.

The effect of these sections, as amended, is that a ship, either British or Foreign, may be detained at a port in the United Kingdom if by reason of undermanning she is unable to proceed to sea without serious danger to human life, having regard to the services for which she is demanded.

Soon after the passing of the Merchant Shipping Act, 1897, instructions were issued which, with the modifications made after consideration by the Merchant Shipping Advisory Committee in 1909, represent the present requirements. They are, that foreign-going steamers, whether passenger

or cargo vessels, shall have the following minimum deck manning independently of the master and two mates :

- |  |                           |
|--|---------------------------|
| (a) If of over 200 feet in length or not<br>less than 700 tons gross . . . | } 6 efficient deck hands. |
| (b) If of over 2500 tons gross or of<br>more than 320 feet in length . .   |                           |
| (c) If of over 5500 tons gross or of<br>more than 420 feet in length . .   | } 10 " " "                |

The Board of Trade have not defined "efficient deck hands"; but if the Superintendent before whom the Articles of Agreement are opened is in doubt, he would refer the question to a Board of Trade Nautical Surveyor.

The effect of these instructions is that large passenger vessels, no matter what their voyage or the number of passengers carried, need have no more deck hands than cargo vessels of the same size. The position is certainly anomalous, as if those passenger ships carry to any port out of Europe, and not within the Mediterranean sea, more than 50 steerage passengers they would become emigrant ships, and come under the deck and engine-room manning requirements applicable to such ships.

To give an example, a ship of 10,000 tons gross if an emigrant ship must have at least 48 deck hands, excluding master and mates, and an adequate engine-room and stokehold manning; but if she does not take 50 steerage passengers to ports out of Europe she need have only 10 efficient deck hands independently of the master and two mates, and the Board of Trade take no cognisance of her engine-room and stokehold manning at all.

It is submitted that the time has now come to bring these foreign-going steamers under the same requirements as to manning so far as the effective manning necessary for lowering and managing boats, and preserving discipline while passengers are being put into boats, is concerned.

If it is considered desirable to do this it can be brought



about in one of several ways. It might be done by bringing the foreign-going passenger steamers into the category of emigrant ships for all purposes. It might be done by bringing the foreign-going passenger steamer under the same legal requirements as to equipment and manning; this, however, is already secured as regards boats by the fact that Division A, Class 2 ships, are provided for in the same way as Division A, Class 1 ships. It might be done by amendment of Section 305, by which a foreign-going passenger ship would be compelled to "be manned with an efficient crew for her intended voyage"; because this requirement has been sufficient to give the Board of Trade the extensive powers they now exercise with regard to the manning of emigrant ships, engine-room, as well as stokehold and deck.

It might also be done by an amendment of Section 272, which prescribes the conditions to be fulfilled before the Surveyor gives the declaration upon which the Board of Trade issues the passenger certificate. The Board would then be able to advise their officers (whether or not they invariably inspect the crew of a foreign-going passenger steamer before commencing her voyage) to require before issuing the declaration which precedes the passenger certificate that the crew should reach the standard the Board deem necessary in the interest of safety.

Without legislation the position might possibly be dealt with by Sections 459 and 462, as amended by the Merchant Shipping Act, 1897, if the view could be upheld that a ship is an "unsafe ship"—*i.e.* "by reason of undermanning unfit to proceed to sea without serious danger to human life, having regard to the services for which she is intended." It does not seem unreasonable that a ship carrying passengers might be held to be "unsafe" or "unfit," etc., when undermanned if she is carrying passengers to a distant part of the world. Having in view the perils of the sea—*e.g.*

that an occasion may come in which the ship's boats may have to be lowered with the passengers in them, and that the ship may sink—it seems reasonable to hold that any foreign-going passenger steamer might be detained under Section 459, as amended, if she did not reach the standard the Board consider necessary for securing not only the effective manning of the ship, but the proper lowering and the proper manning of the boats.

Moreover, there appears to be no insuperable difficulty, if it should be desired, in regulating the engine-room and stokehold manning of foreign-going passenger steamers in the same way.

The Advisory Committee of the Board of Trade wished the Board to institute a system of testing and certifying deck hands on their competency, but the Board objected (1908). Thus the regulation remains that “in any case in which the Superintendent before whom the crew is being engaged is doubtful as to the efficiency of a deck hand, he should refer the matter to the Nautical Surveyor, who would examine the man.” The Board of Trade now favours testing by one of its Nautical Surveyors, and considers that, with a central indexed register of seamen, it would be possible to have an entry made therein of the fact that a seaman had passed his test with the Nautical Surveyor and was to be regarded as an efficient deck hand.

The term “deck hand” for emigrant ships means masters and mates and all *bona-fide* able-bodied seamen. A carpenter, boatswain, lamp-trimmer, and every petty officer who has served in the capacity of A.B., may be so regarded, but tradesmen, such as joiners, etc., are among those who should not be so counted. Of the total number of deck hands carried one in five may be ordinary seamen, and two boys may be taken in the place of one ordinary seaman. One cook, and also one steward, may be reckoned as *bona-fide* A.B.'s. The following are the crews which must be

carried on emigrant ships, so that if ordinary foreign-going passenger steamers are placed on the same scale it is easy to see there will be large additional employment of men.

Under 2500 cubic feet . . . . .	24
Over 2500 and under 2900 cubic feet .	25
Up to 7300 cubic feet . . . . .	1 every 400 cubic feet = 35
Over 7000 to 9700 cubic feet . . . .	2    „    „    „    = 48

Early in 1912 a Trade Union for Ships' Officers was formed having the title of "The National Union of Masters and Mates." This body has as its object the improvement of salaries paid and the conditions of service obtaining in the greater number of the shipping companies.

The following scale of monthly wages has been advanced tentatively :

Gross Registered Tonnage.	Master.	Mate.	2nd Mate.	3rd Mate.
	£	£	£	£
3,000 to 5,000 . . . . .	25	14	12	10
5,000 and over : . . . .	30	15	13	11

In addition overtime is to be paid for at the rate of 2s. per hour.

It is proposed by a series of small strikes to endeavour gradually to secure the payment of the above rates, and at the same time to popularise the Union by showing that it is an active force. In August 1912 the membership was only 160, an insignificant number when it is remembered that there are 35,000 officers in the British Mercantile Marine.

## APPENDIX C

### THE COST OF RUNNING A STATION

To give some idea of the cost to the railways, even of running a small station, an official table is submitted as follows :

A typical station is taken at a place with about 6,000 inhabitants, where both passengers and goods are dealt with, and the cost of running it is about £4,000 per annum.

The first cost of the passenger station was £8,000, and of the goods £3,000, the interest on which at 5 per cent. equals £550. The salaries of the station-master, booking and parcels clerks (3) for 1911 were £450; the wages of the foreman, ticket-collector, and porters (12) £700; and of the signalmen (3) £180. The salaries of the goods clerks (5) were £480, and the wages of the goods porters (6) £310; while the cost of the carting staff, draymen (6), horses, provender, etc., was £700.

Stores, lighting, and water cost £430, rates and taxes £120, and the maintenance of the station buildings £280.

## APPENDIX D

### THE POSTAL AGITATION

THERE is considerable agitation amongst all branches of the Postal, Telegraph, and Telephone System, though the men, being Civil Servants, cannot strike. Here are the Postmen's main grievances :

#### *Wages*

1. Minimum to be 20s. a week if the entrant is under 20 years of age, and 24s. a week if that age is reached.

2. Increments to be 2s. 6d. per week per year, with a double increment at the age of 25.

3. Maxima. (a) Under London Controller's area, 62s. a week. (b) Provincial : Highest, 50s. a week ; lowest, 35s. a week.

The scales for all offices to be allocated according to the cost of living.

#### *Pensions*

(a) The application of the terms of the Government's Superannuation Bill, 1909.

(b) Telegraph messenger, acting, assistant, and auxiliary postman, and acting sorter ; naval and military non-pensionable service to count towards pensions when followed by appointment.

*Promotion*

That no officer be promoted until he has reached the maximum wage of his class.

*Holidays*

That twenty-one working days, apart from statutory Bank Holidays, be granted as annual leave to postmen, the holiday period to be from March to October, inclusive.

*Hours of Attendance*

A forty-eight-hour week. Duties to be continuous where practicable, but of not more than two attendances daily. The day's work to be completed within twelve hours. No interval of less than one hour to be booked off. Time allowance for walking in case of split attendance.

*Postmen Employed on Rural Duties*

Overtime to be reckoned on time actually employed, instead of mileage, and where a rural postman is compelled to wait four hours or more at the end of his outward journey.

*Auxiliary and Assistant Postmen*

Auxiliary labour to be abolished as far as possible by being merged in the established class. In all cases where total abolition is impossible, those still retained to be paid at the mean of the established men's scale.

Those already in the service, and actually employed on postmen's duties, to rank before new entrants for vacancies in the established class.

*Citizen Rights*

Removal of all restrictions on a man's liberty when off duty and out of uniform.

*Inquiries Quinquennially*

Post Office administration to be investigated every five years by a Select Committee of the House of Commons.

*Official Recognition*

The right to represent cases of all kinds, whether general or individual.

The telegraphists and telephonists have somewhat similar claims, with specialised application for their own particular work.

## APPENDIX E

### THE INDUSTRIAL COUNCIL

#### EMPLOYERS' REPRESENTATIVES

Mr. George Ainsworth: Chairman of the Steel Ingot Makers' Association.

Sir Hugh Bell: President of the Iron, Steel, and Allied Trades Federation and Chairman of the Cleveland Mine Owners' Association.

Sir G. H. Claughton: Chairman of the London and North-Western Railway Company.

Mr. W. A. Clowes: Chairman of the London Master Printers' Association.

Mr. J. H. C. Crockett: President of the Incorporated Federated Associations of Boot and Shoe Manufacturers of Great Britain and Ireland.

Mr. F. L. Davis: Chairman of the South Wales Coal Conciliation Board.

Mr. T. L. Devitt: Chairman of the Shipping Federation, Limited.

Sir T. Ratcliffe Ellis: Secretary of the Lancashire and Cheshire Coal Owners' Association and Joint Secretary of the Board of Conciliation of the Coal Trade of the Federated Districts.

Mr. F. W. Gibbins: Chairman of the Welsh Plate and Sheet Manufacturers' Associations.



Sir Charles Macara: President of the Federation of Master Cotton Spinners' Associations.

Mr. Robert Thompson: Past President of the Ulster Flax Spinners' Association.

Mr. Alexander Siemens: Chairman of the Executive Board of the Engineering Employers' Federation.

Mr. J. W. White: President of the National Building Trades Employers' Federation.

### WORKMEN'S REPRESENTATIVES

Right Hon. Thomas Burt, M.P.: General Secretary of the Northumberland Miners' Mutual Confident Association.

Mr. T. Ashton: Secretary of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain and General Secretary of the Lancashire and Cheshire Miners' Federation.

Mr. C. W. Bowerman, M.P.: Secretary of the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress and President of the Printing and Kindred Trades Federation of the United Kingdom.

Mr. F. Chandler: General Secretary of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners.

Mr. J. R. Clynes, M.P.: Organising Secretary of the National Union of Gas Workers and General Labourers of Great Britain and Ireland.

Mr. H. Gosling: President of the National Transport Workers' Federation and General Secretary of the Amalgamated Society of Watermen, Lightermen, and Watchmen of River Thames.

Mr. Arthur Henderson, M.P.: Friendly Society of Ironfounders.

Mr. John Hodge, M.P.: General Secretary of the British Steel Smelters, Mill, Iron, and Tinplate Workers' Amalgamated Association.

Mr. W. Mosses: General Secretary of the Federation of

Engineering and Shipbuilding Trades and of the United Patternmakers' Association.

Mr. W. Mullin : President of the United Textile Factory Workers' Association and General Secretary of the Amalgamated Association of Card and Blowing-room Operatives.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. E. L. Poulton : General Secretary of the National Union of Boot and Shoe Operatives.

Mr. Alexander Wilkie, M.P. : Secretary of the Shipyard Standing Committee under the National Agreement of 1909 and General Secretary of the Ship-constructive and Shipwrights' Society.

Mr. J. E. Williams : General Secretary of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants.

Sir George Askwith, K.C.B., K.C., is Chairman of the Industrial Council, with the title of Chief Industrial Commissioner, and Mr. H. J. Wilson is Registrar of the Council.

<sup>1</sup> Resigned July 1912, in accordance with the desire of the Card and Blowing-room Operatives' Association.

## APPENDIX F

### HOURS OF LABOUR

Just as wages are not fixed anywhere in Europe outside Great Britain, so hours are not often regulated.

In this country they vary for skilled workers, as a rule, ranging from 48 to 54, mostly the latter, though the former is a common winter average for many trades. The coal miners under law work eight hours only. The Board of Trade also can control the hours of railway servants. Unskilled labour is more elastic.

Abroad the hours are much longer. Factory hands work in France from 11 to 12 hours; in Switzerland, 11; in Austria, 11; in Russia,  $11\frac{1}{2}$ ; in Germany there is virtually no limitation. In Germany the coal miners usually work 8 hours, though in Silesia 9·7 to 10·1, the building trades 10, and railwaymen 8 to 9 and longer. In Austria the coal miners work 8 to 9 hours.

Twelve-hour shifts are common in many countries in the steel and iron industry, though in Belgium 10 hours is the average, while all the industrial establishments in Denmark work 10 hours.

In Australia 8 hours is the usual limit, and in New Zealand  $8\frac{3}{4}$ . In India textile workers only are limited to 12; in Japan the average is 14. In the United States an 8 hours day is often prescribed in some States, but contracting out is permissible.

## APPENDIX G

### LABOUR'S MOST ADVANCED DEMANDS

THE programme of the Labour Party in New Zealand, perhaps the most advanced of any Colony, is:

Legislation to prevent the application of the Osborne Judgment to New Zealand.

The Right to Work Bill.

Law to fix a National Minimum Wage.

Legislation to secure a weekly day of rest.

A Compulsory Saturday half-holiday in six-day industries, and a 44-hour week.

Settlement of Industrial Disputes on lines of legally established agreements and awards by means of conciliation and arbitration.

Statutory Preference to Unionists.

This programme was adopted on April 6, 1912, by the United Labour Party of New Zealand, which represents all labour interests in the Dominions. It shows that the principle of compulsory arbitration is accepted in New Zealand.

## APPENDIX H

### “PEACEFUL PICKETING”

THE question of peaceful picketing has come very much to the front of late years. During the 1912 Dock Strike there were many complaints as to the methods adopted by the men on strike, and the following instructions, which were repeatedly given to the strikers by Mr. Harry Orbell, one of the men's leaders, are interesting as showing the limitations which Trade Union leaders recognise.

Mr. Orbell's advice is : “ If men on strike see a blackleg or strike-breaker in the street, they must detach not more than two of their number to interview him. These two men must be careful not to approach the blackleg or strike-breaker from the front, as if they stand in front of him they may be charged with obstruction. If he is walking towards them they must turn round and walk by his side, when they must argue the matter out with him quietly and peaceably. If he expresses a wish to have nothing at all to do with them, they must go away and leave him, but on no account must they touch him, even to shake hands, for there is just a possibility that an offer of a hand-shake may be construed into a charge of assault. If there are two blacklegs, only one picket may walk with the two, as if there are more than three people in one group, the police may charge them with unlawful assembly.”

The conduct of the police during the Dock Strike was the subject of considerable criticism, and Mr. Orbell had

further instructions to give his men on this point. "If," said he, "you see a police officer acting improperly, take his number and note the time, secure the names and addresses of witnesses, and report the matter to the Local Executive, who will hand your complaint, together with the evidence, to the proper quarter. If the officer is a police inspector he will have no number, but carefully note the location and the time, and also the numbers of some of the ordinary constables under his orders, and pay particular regard to the inspector's features. Then send up the complaint in the ordinary way, and the officer can easily be identified.

"In the case of constables in plain clothes, note the position and time as before. It is useless taking a note of the man's clothes, or of any part of him except his face, but men should take a mental photograph of certain facial characteristics. The length of hair, or hair upon the face, should be ignored, and witnesses should concentrate upon remembering the form and colour of the eyes and the distance between them, the shape of the nose, the jaw, the chin, and the lips, as otherwise it will be found impossible to identify an offender if placed amongst a group of men of similar build."

## APPENDIX I

### GOVERNMENT POWERS

SPEAKING in the House of Commons on July 23 (1912), on a debate on the Port of London strike, Mr. Lloyd George remarked :

“ We have no power beyond the power of inquiry and of conciliation. There is no other power vested in the Executive in a case of this kind—none. . . . That is not the fault of the present Government, and it is not the fault of their predecessors. It is because up to the present public opinion has not demanded fresh powers. On the whole, public opinion has been opposed to the granting of fresh powers. That is not confined at all to the Capitalist class. That opinion is shared, to a very large extent, by the Labour representation of the country. If you proceed with conciliation, the next step is compulsion; and if you have compulsion, it must undoubtedly be compulsion not on one party merely. It is far better that Labour should realise and face that. In this case the leaders of the men did face it. But, after all, you cannot legislate for each particular case. You cannot have an Act of Parliament to deal with every special dispute that arises in this country.

“ I am firmly convinced that the time has come for a reconsideration of the whole problem of the settlement of trade disputes. The Government have set up an inquiry into the matter. The Industrial Council are considering the best method of dealing with matters of this kind. I do

not believe it is possible to deal with them without some form of legislative sanction, because you always come up against some employer or some union who will listen to no appeal, and who are perfectly indifferent to public opinion, and there mere methods of conciliation must be a failure. In a case of that kind there must necessarily be legislation, the sanction of some legislation which can be enforced. But before any legislation of that character can be carried, it does necessarily involve that there shall be a guarantee, not merely upon one side, but upon the other, that the decisions not merely shall be enforced, but can be enforced, otherwise I am perfectly certain that no Parliament would ever sanction legislation which would be barely one-sided. It would not be fair, and would not commend itself to the judgment of the public.

“The Government have come to the conclusion that it will be necessary to deal with this problem. It is not merely this dispute ; there are disputes constantly cropping up. The weapon with which the Executive is armed is absolutely futile beyond a certain point. I am not criticising the Act of 1896,<sup>1</sup> because I do not think public opinion would have justified the Government of the day going beyond that legislation at that stage. But since then a good deal has happened. Attempts have been made to carry that Act into effect, and have failed in a good many cases. This Act was utilised in the great Penrhyn dispute in 1898 and 1899. It answered no purpose. For three years the dispute went on, after the Board of Trade had intervened under this Act of Parliament. This is another case, and there have been several in the course of the last few years. Therefore the Government have come to the conclusion that it will be necessary to deal with the whole problem, and to deal with it in the immediate future.”

<sup>1</sup> Authorising the Government to institute official inquiry into industrial disturbances.



## APPENDIX J

### “THE CONSCIOUS MINORITY”

THIS is a new movement, partly allied with the economic struggle which is coming to the front. The “Conscious Minority” is a group of chosen intellectuals who, holding advanced views, regard themselves as the lever by which the brain-working section of the community can influence those around them on the upward path. For instance, the “Conscious Minority” claims to have powerfully promoted the revolutionary movement in Russia. Its doctrines are really those of Philosophic Anarchism—Freedom from Dogma, Free Thought, and Free Love—a feeling of conscious humanity and the critical spirit. To the holders of these views, Syndicalism, being purely an economic struggle, is merely a stage on the upward way of evolution. The pioneer of these doctrines is Mme. Sorgue, a journalist and the wife of one, daughter of Dr. Durand de Gros, the well-known medico-hypnologist of Paris; she is well known in the International movement all over Europe. Although a Syndicalist speaker, she is really an Anarchist. Directing her intellectual appeal to the young rather than to the old, she is now planning a campaign in support of her views, which she has already ventilated with success, notably in Glasgow. Such an altruistic movement as the “Conscious Minority” presupposes unwillingness or inability to rely on purely democratic efforts.

## APPENDIX K

### THE LOWNESS OF WOMEN'S WAGES

For the fact that a woman's wages amount, roughly speaking, to one-half those of a man, a good many reasons are assigned, of which here are a few:

1. That women's wages are fixed by custom, and that it is customary to pay a woman a lower wage.

2. That in the absence of counteracting circumstances, women's wages are governed by the "Iron Law," and have reached the level of bare subsistence.

3. That women have less strength, skill, "potential ability," or "net advantageousness to their employer," than men.

4. That the majority, if not all, of women workers are "mean time" wage-earners only. Women have a double work in life, and cannot ever devote all their energy to their wage-earning occupation.

5. That there is a body of "pocket-money" wage-earners, who are not obliged to earn a living wage, and who are enough in number to affect the market.

6. That there is a large body of women (widows, deserted wives, and wives of unemployed men) whose needs are so great that they are ready to accept any wage, however low.

7. That women's standard of living is lower.

8. That women's education in "public spirit" is only just beginning, and that Trade Unionism is still very weak.

9. That women have inadequate knowledge of the labour market and of the wages they might demand.

10. That women have not got any political power.

DOROTHY ZIMMERN.

## APPENDIX L

### THE COAL MINES (MINIMUM WAGE) ACT, 1912

1.—(1) It shall be an implied term of every contract for the employment of a workman underground in a coal mine that the employer shall pay to that workman wages at not less than the minimum rate settled under this Act and applicable to that workman, unless it is certified in manner provided by the district rules that the workman is a person excluded under the district rules from the operation of this provision, or that the workman has forfeited the right to wages at the minimum rate by reason of his failure to comply with the conditions with respect to the regularity or efficiency of the work to be performed by workmen laid down by those rules; and any agreement for the payment of wages in so far as it is in contravention of this provision shall be void.

For the purposes of this Act, the expression "district rules" means rules made under the powers given by this Act by the joint district board.

(2) The district rules shall lay down conditions, as respects the district to which they apply, with respect to the exclusion from the right to wages at the minimum rate of aged workmen and infirm workmen (including workmen partially disabled by illness or accident), and shall lay down conditions with respect to the regularity and efficiency of the work to be performed by the workmen, and with respect to the time for which a workman

is to be paid in the event of any interruption of work due to an emergency, and shall provide that a workman shall forfeit the right to wages at the minimum rate if he does not comply with conditions as to regularity and efficiency of work, except in cases where the failure to comply with the conditions is due to some cause over which he has no control.

The district rules shall also make provision with respect to the persons by whom and the mode in which any question, whether any workman in the district is a workman to whom the minimum rate of wages is applicable, or whether a workman has complied with the conditions laid down by the rules, or whether a workman who has not complied with the conditions laid down by the rules has forfeited his right to wages at the minimum rate, is to be decided, and for a certificate being given of any such decision for the purposes of this section.

(3) The provisions of this section as to payment of wages at a minimum rate shall operate as from the date of the passing of this Act, although a minimum rate of wages may not have been settled, and any sum which would have been payable under this section to a workman on account of wages if a minimum rate had been settled may be recovered by the workman from his employer at any time after the rate is settled.

2.—(1) Minimum rates of wages and district rules for the purposes of this Act shall be settled separately for each of the districts named in the Schedule to this Act by a body of persons recognised by the Board of Trade as the joint district board for that district.

Nothing in this Act shall prejudice the operation of any agreement entered into or custom existing before the passing of this Act for the payment of wages at a rate higher than the minimum rate settled under this Act, and in settling any minimum rate of wages the joint

district board shall have regard to the average daily rate of wages paid to the workmen of the class for which the minimum rate is to be settled.

(2) The Board of Trade may recognise as a joint district board for any district any body of persons, whether existing at the time of the passing of this Act or constituted for the purposes of this Act, which in the opinion of the Board of Trade fairly and adequately represents the workmen in coal mines in the district and the employers of those workmen, and the chairman of which is an independent person appointed by agreement between the persons representing the workmen and employers respectively on the body, or in default of agreement by the Board of Trade.

The Board of Trade may, as a condition of recognising as a joint district board for the purposes of this Act any body the rules of which do not provide for securing equality of voting power between the members representing workmen and the members representing employers and for giving the chairman a casting vote in case of difference between the two classes of members, require that body to adopt any such rule as the Board of Trade may approve for the purpose, and any rule so adopted shall be deemed to be a rule governing the procedure of the body for the purposes of this Act.

(3) The joint district board of a district shall settle general minimum rates of wages and general district rules for their district (in this Act referred to as general district minimum rates and general district rules), and the general district minimum rates and general district rules shall be the rates and rules applicable throughout the whole of the district to all coal mines in the district and to all workmen or classes of workmen employed underground in those mines, other than mines to which and workmen to whom a special minimum rate or special district rules settled under the provisions of this Act is or are applicable, or mines to which

and workmen to whom the joint district board declare that the general district rates and general district rules shall not be applicable pending the decision of the question whether a special district rate or special district rules ought to be settled in their case.

(4) The joint district board of any district may, if it is shown to them that any general district minimum rate or general district rules are not applicable in the case of any group or class of coal mines within the district, owing to the special circumstances of the group or class of mines, settle a special minimum rate (either higher or lower than the general district rate) or special district rules (either more or less stringent than the general district rules) for that group or class of mines, and any such special rate or special rules shall be the rate or rules applicable to that group or class of mines instead of the general district minimum rate or general district rules.

(5) For the purpose of settling minimum rates of wage, the joint district board may sub-divide their district into two parts or, if the members of the joint district board representing the workmen and the members representing the employers agree, into more than two parts, and in that case each part of the district as so sub-divided shall, for the purpose of the minimum rate, be treated as the district.

(6) For the purpose of settling district rules, any joint district boards may agree that their districts shall be treated as one district, and in that case those districts shall be treated for that purpose as one combined district, with a combined district committee appointed as may be agreed between the joint district boards concerned, and the chairman of such one of the districts forming the combination as may be agreed upon between the joint district boards concerned, or, in default of agreement, determined by the Board of Trade, shall be the chairman of the combined district committee,

3.—(1) Any minimum rate of wages or district rules settled under this Act shall remain in force until varied in accordance with the provisions of this Act.

(2) The joint district board of a district shall have power to vary any minimum rate of wages or district rules for the time being in force in their district—

(a) at any time by agreement between the members of the joint district board representing the workmen and the members representing the employers; and

(b) after one year has elapsed since the rate or rules were last settled or varied, on an application made (with three months' notice given after the expiration of the year) by any workmen or employers, which appears to the joint district board to represent any considerable body of opinion amongst either the workmen or the employers concerned;

and the provisions of this Act as to the settlement of minimum rates of wages or district rules shall, so far as applicable, apply to the variation of any such rate or rules.

4.—(1) If within two weeks after the passing of this Act a joint district board has not been recognised by the Board of Trade for any district, or if at any time after the passing of this Act any occasion arises for the exercise or performance in any district of any power or duty under this Act by the joint district board, and there is no joint district board for the district, the Board of Trade may, either forthwith or after such interval as may seem to them necessary or expedient, appoint such person as they think fit to act in the place of the joint district board, and, while that appointment continues, this Act shall be construed, so far as respects that district, as if the person so appointed were substituted for the joint district board.

The Board of Trade in any such case where it appears to

them that the necessity for the exercise of their powers under this provision arises from the failure of the employers to appoint members to represent employers on a board when the workmen are willing to appoint members to represent workmen, or from the failure of the workmen to appoint members to represent workmen on a board when the employers are willing to appoint members to represent employers, may, if they think fit, instead of appointing a person to act in place of the joint district board, appoint such persons as they think fit to represent the employers or the workmen, as the case may be, who have failed to appoint members to represent them; and in that case the members so appointed by the Board of Trade shall be deemed to be members of the board representing employers or workmen as the case requires.

(2) If the joint district board within three weeks after the time at which it has been recognised under this Act for any district fail to settle the first minimum rates of wages and district rules in that district, or if the joint district board, within three weeks after the expiration of a notice for an application under this Act to vary any minimum rate of wages or district rules fail to deal with the application, the chairman of the joint district board shall settle the rates or rules or deal with the application, as the case may be, in place of the joint district board, and any minimum rate of wages or district rules settled by him shall have the same effect for the purposes of this Act as if they had been settled by the joint district board:

Provided that, if the members of the joint district board representing the workmen and the members representing the employers agree, or if the chairman of the joint district board directs, that a specified period longer than three weeks shall for the purposes of this sub-section be substituted for three weeks, this sub-section shall have effect as if that specified period were therein substituted for three weeks,



## 5.—(1) In this Act—

The expression “coal mine” includes a mine of stratified ironstone ;

The expression “workman” means any person employed in a coal mine below ground other than—

- (a) a person so employed occasionally or casually only ;  
or
- (b) a person so employed solely in surveying or measuring ;  
or
- (c) a person so employed as mechanic ; or
- (d) the manager or any under-manager of the mine ; or
- (e) any other official of the mine whose position in the mine is recognised by the joint district board as being a position different from that of a workman.

(2) If it is thought fit by any persons when appointing a chairman for the purposes of this Act, or by the Board of Trade when so appointing a chairman, the office of chairman may be committed to three persons, and in that case those three persons acting by a majority shall be deemed to be the chairman for the purposes of this Act.

6.—(1) This Act may be cited as the Coal Mines (Minimum Wage) Act, 1912.

(2) This Act shall continue in force for three years from the date of the passing thereof and no longer, unless Parliament shall otherwise determine.

Under this Act the Joint District Boards have already met, and a decision has been reached in the majority of cases, though in only four instances have the Boards been able to reach an agreement without the intervention of the Chairman. In North Staffordshire the Joint Board were able to reach an agreement in respect to the number and definition of grades, but had to invoke the Chairman's assistance in regard to the settlement of the rates,

The terms of settlements or awards already reached or given will form the basis from which future disputes will start, and the chief points in such settlements or awards are :

#### NORTHUMBERLAND DISTRICT (LORD MERSEY'S AWARD)

		Minimum per day	
		s.	d.
Adult Workmen, Datallers . . . .		4	9
„ „ Piece Workers . . . .		5	6

An allowance of 2*d.* per day for piece workers who provide their own explosives.

		Minimum per day	
		s.	d.
Boys, Datallers, 14 to 16 years of age . . . .		2	0
„ „ 16 to 18 „ „ . . . .		2	9
„ „ 18 to 21 „ „ . . . .		3	6
„ Piece Workers (all ages) . . . .		4	0

Benefits allowed to married men (house accommodation or rent or cheap or free coal) to continue.

Certain distinctions are made with regard to small collieries.

A piece worker at 57 years of age and a dataller at 63 are regarded as aged and infirm and excluded from the right to wages at the minimum rate, any worker physically unfit being also deprived of the same right. The colliery owners are protected against the acts of lazy, bad timekeeping, and insubordinate workers, an umpire being the final "court of appeal" in any dispute on such questions. If a man during a "pay" (two weeks) earns a total sum greater than the total of the minimum for the number of days he has worked during the pay, he cannot claim the minimum for any day on which his earnings during the pay may have dropped below such minimum.

## NORTH STAFFORDSHIRE DISTRICT

The Joint District Board agreed only upon the classes of workmen to whom the Act should apply, and the rates to be paid to boys, which they decided should be a minimum of 2s. per day for a boy of 14 years, 2s. 1½d. for a boy of 15, and afterwards rising by amounts of 1½d. each every three months, so that the minimum of a "boy" at 21 years of age is fixed at 4s. 6d. per day.

The Award of Judge J. K. Bradbury, of the County Court, the Chairman in respect of adult labour, is:

Adult Workmen	Minimum per day	
	s.	d.
Contracting Colliers . . . . .	7	0
Colliers other than Contracting Colliers . . . . .	6	6
Loaders . . . . .	6	0
Crutters . . . . .	6	6
Assistant Crutters . . . . .	5	9
Datallers and Timberers . . . . .	5	6
Datallers' Assistants . . . . .	5	0
Packers working under supervision . . . . .	5	0
Coal Cutters' Attendants . . . . .	5	9
Assistants to Coal Cutters' Attendants . . . . .	5	0
Onsetters . . . . .	5	6
Motormen and Enginemmen . . . . .	5	0
Roadmen . . . . .	5	0

Special rates are made for certain districts and a certain class of seams, but no arbitrary definition of an aged or infirm workman is given. A workman must attend 80 per cent. of his available working days.

If, in the event of "shortness of waggons" or other reasons, the men should be stopped working the ordinary full time of a shift, such men are not entitled to the minimum "day" wage set out. This "shortness of waggons" question was one of the chief causes of complaint advanced by the workmen, but in this and other Awards the owners are given the benefit.

## LEICESTERSHIRE DISTRICT (JUDGE O'CONNOR'S AWARD)

	Minimum per day
	s. d.
Stallmen (Colliers) on Contract Rates . . . . .	6 2
Holers and Loaders on Contract . . . . .	5 0

*Rates in Stalls worked by the day when requested by the Management, and rates for men brought out of the Stalls to do work on the Roads*

	Minimum per day
	s. d.
(a) Stallmen . . . . .	7 2
(b) Holers and Loaders . . . . .	5 8

*For Abnormal Stalls*

(a) Stallmen . . . . .	7 0
(b) Holers and Loaders . . . . .	5 6
Chargemen Shifters . . . . .	6 9
Shovelmen Shifters, being over 21 years of age . . . . .	4 10
Onsetters, in charge of signals, and being over 21 years of age . . . . .	5 0
Corporals and General Roadmen, being over 21 years of age . . . . .	4 10
Boys of 13 years of age . . . . .	1 7
„ 14 „ . . . . .	2 0
„ 15 „ . . . . .	2 5
„ 16 „ . . . . .	2 10
„ 17 „ . . . . .	3 2
„ 18 „ . . . . .	3 7
„ 19 „ . . . . .	4 0
„ 20 „ . . . . .	4 5
„ 21 „ . . . . .	4 10

Sixty-five is fixed as the age limit beyond which a man is excluded from the right to the minimum. All workmen to attend *every day* on which work is possible unless permission to be absent has been granted.

The question of a man's right to the minimum to be settled, in case of dispute, by an outside Chairman.

## DURHAM DISTRICT (LORD JUSTICE ROMER'S AWARD)

						Minimum per day	
Piece Workers:						s.	d.
Hewers	.	.	.	.	.	5	6
Fillers	.	.	.	.	.	5	10
Stonemen	.	.	.	.	.	5	5
Onsetters	.	.	.	.	.	5	5
Timber-drawers	.	.	.	.	.	5	8
Rolleywaymen	.	.	.	.	.	5	2
Pullers up of conveyers	.	.	.	.	.	5	10
All others	.	.	.	.	.	5	0
Datallers:							
Deputies (face work)	.	.	.	.	.	6	3
Deputies (backbye shifts)	.	.	.	.	.	5	7
Timber-drawers	.	.	.	.	.	5	6
Shotfirers	.	.	.	.	.	5	8
Sinkers	.	.	.	.	.	5	3
All others	.	.	.	.	.	4	9
Underground Enginemen:							
Adult Haulers	.	.	.	.	.	5	7
All others	.	.	.	.	.	5	3
Boys over 20 and under 21	.	.	.	.	.	4	8
„ 19 „ 20	.	.	.	.	.	4	4
„ 18 „ 19	.	.	.	.	.	4	0
Boys other than those dealt with above:							
Under 16	.	.	.	.	.	2	0
Not under 16 but under 18	.	.	.	.	.	2	9
„ 18 „ 21: Piece	.	.	.	.	.	4	0
Datal	.	.	.	.	.	3	6

Married men allowed usual benefits.

Hewers are regarded as aged workmen at the age of 57, and other workmen at 63, and cannot claim the minimum after such age. Workmen may be absent with reasonable excuse, and without permission. Safeguards against laziness, incapacity, or insubordination are provided, ultimate settlement of any disputes affecting Award to be made by outside Chairman.

## CUMBERLAND BOARD'S AGREEMENT

						Minimum per day	
						s.	d.
Hewers (piece work)	.	.	.	.	.	6	0
Dattallers:							
Deputies	.	.	.	.	.	6	0
Firemen	.	.	.	.	.	5	10
Shotfirers	.	.	.	.	.	5	10
Shiftmen	.	.	.	.	.	5	8
Shift Labourers	.	.	.	.	.	4	7
Rolleywaymen	.	.	.	.	.	4	9
Onsetters	.	.	.	.	.	4	7
Horsekeepers	.	.	.	.	.	4	2
Pumpmen	.	.	.	.	.	4	2
Engine Drivers	.	.	.	.	.	4	2
Oilers and Greasers	.	.	.	.	.	4	0
Bogie Hands	.	.	.	.	.	3	9

Apprentice Hewers are to have 4s. per day for first 6 months; then rise by 6d. per day every 6 months to 5s. 6d. after 18 months' service, and after 2 years' service as apprentices rank for full pay. Boys employed as:

						Minimum per day	
						s.	d.
Couplers, Drivers, Lamp Carriers, Pumpers,							
Clippers (Fishers' clips), Clippers (screw							
clips), Engine boys	.	.	.	.	.	2	0
Dilliers, trailers, brakers	.	.	.	.	.	2	9

(Where higher minimum standard existed before the Act such standard to remain.)

No age limit set with regard to claim for minimum, efficiency being the determining factor. The Board, failing other settlement, to settle all points, if possible, regarding a man's claim to minimum, etc.; and, failing settlement by them, any point outstanding to be settled by independent Chairman or person agreed upon by Board or nominated by Chairman. Working rules in Cumberland not so arbitrary as elsewhere.

## LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE BOARD'S AGREEMENT

	Adult Workmen	Minimum per day	
		s.	d.
Colliers . . . . .		6	6
Shotlighters . . . . .		5	9
Haulers, way drawers, horsekeepers and pump-men . . . . .		5	0

Colliers, drawers, and fillers to get 2s. 3d. per day at 14 years of age, and to rise 3d. per day every 6 months until they are 17½ years old, between which time and 19 years of age they rise 1s. to 5s. per day, subsequently getting two further rises of 3d. per day in 12 months, making their wages at 20 years of age and over 5s. 6d. per day.

Other boys and youths :

Age	Per day	Age	Per day
14 . . . . .	2 0	18 . . . . .	3 4
14½ . . . . .	2 0	18½ . . . . .	3 7
15 . . . . .	2 2	19 . . . . .	3 10
15½ . . . . .	2 4	19½ . . . . .	4 1
16 . . . . .	2 6	20 . . . . .	4 4
16½ . . . . .	2 8	20½ . . . . .	4 8
17 . . . . .	2 10	21 . . . . .	5 0
17½ . . . . .	3 1		

All other workmen, 5s. 3d. per day.

The privilege of cheap coal to be discontinued.

Lists of persons who, by reason of age, infirmity, illness, or accident, are partially incapacitated, and therefore not entitled to minimum, shall be drawn up and agreed to by Local Joint Committees.

Workmen must attend 80 per cent. of the number of shifts available during the period covered by two pays.

If the average earnings of a man during such a period should not equal the daily minimum, wages should be made up to such minimum providing the reason for the shortage is beyond the worker's control. Local Joint Committees, with an independent chairman with a casting vote, shall settle all disputes, certain of which may be considered first by a Pit Committee.

### CLEVELAND DISTRICT (LORD JUSTICE ROMER'S AWARD)

	Minimum per day <i>s. d.</i>
Adult piece-workers :	
Machinemen, shotfirers, and chargers . . . . .	5 11
Miners . . . . .	5 4
All others . . . . .	4 7
Adult datal men :	
Face deputies . . . . .	5 11
Deputy assistants, back-bye men, and shifters	5 1
Onsetters in charge . . . . .	4 8
Platelayers, wagon-way men, bank riders, dog-whippers, pumping enginemen, hauling enginemen, furnacemen, and drill changers .	4 6
All others . . . . .	4 3
Boys, per day :	
Under 16 . . . . .	2 0
Not under 16 but under 18 . . . . .	2 9
" 18      " 21, piece-workers . . . . .	3 10
" 18      " 21, datal . . . . .	3 4

Blacksmiths and blacksmiths' assistants, while doing only the work at present done by them, are employed as mechanics, and are accordingly not workmen under the Act.

Piece-workers are classed as "aged" at 57, other classes at 63 years of age. Final settlement of all disputes can be made by independent umpire.



## SOUTH YORKSHIRE (SIR EDWARD CLARKE'S AWARD)

	Minimum per day
	<i>s. d.</i>
Qualified getters (hand or machine) . . . . .	6 9
Trammers and fillers . . . . .	5 9
Leading bye-workmen (those in charge of pit bottom or otherwise entrusted with superintendence) . . . . .	6 0
All other workmen (over 21 years of age) . . . . .	5 0

## Boys :

Age	Per day	Age	Per day
	<i>s. d.</i>		<i>s. d.</i>
14 . . . . .	2 0	18 . . . . .	3 8
14½ . . . . .	2 2	18½ . . . . .	3 10
15 . . . . .	2 5	19 . . . . .	4 1
15½ . . . . .	2 7	19½ . . . . .	4 3
16 . . . . .	2 10	20 . . . . .	4 6
16½ . . . . .	2 10	20½ . . . . .	4 8
17 . . . . .	3 3	21 . . . . .	4 10
17½ . . . . .	3 5		

For the Don and Loxley Valleys a different and much lower scale is fixed.

All men over 65 years of age are classed as "aged," and any others over 60 years who, in the opinion of a sub-committee, are unable to do a day's work. A workman must attend 80 per cent. of the possible number of shifts in a week, and must give previous notice if he is forced, or desires, to be absent. A man forfeits his right to the minimum if there is a strike in the colliery in which he is working. "Shortness of waggons" or other surface causes shall entitle the colliery owners to shorten the time of a shift and only be liable for such proportion of the minimum as corresponds to the time worked. Disputes to be considered finally by independent chairmen. Any certificate of forfeiture of the right to the minimum may be cancelled after the expiration of six weeks from its date.

## SOUTH DERBYSHIRE (BOARD'S AGREEMENT)

	Minimum per day
	<i>s. d.</i>
Stallmen, chargemen, and machine cutters . . . . .	6 0
Chargemen shifters . . . . .	5 6
Holers, loaders, and onsetters . . . . .	5 0
Datallers, general labourers, and machine-cutters' assistants . . . . .	4 6
Boys starting at the age of 14 . . . . .	2 0

rising half-yearly at an increased rate of 2*d.* up to the age of 21.

Boys starting over the age of 14 4*d.* less, for the first year, than the above rates for the actual age of starting, provided always that no boy shall be paid less than 2*s.* per day.

Nothing in the settlement of the above rates prejudices the operation of the Agreement of December 3, 1910, by which stallmen are to be paid 4*s.* 4*d.* per day, plus percentage, for abnormal places. It is understood that the said Agreement of December 3, 1910, is binding on all the collieries in the district.

Men of 65 years and over are classed as "aged," though, if they show capacity up to the average, they may claim, on occasion, the "abnormal-place" rate. Any man, whatever his age, who cannot maintain in a normal place the average output is to be excluded from the benefit of the minimum. All workmen to attend every day. Shortness of waggons on surface entitles employers to shorten working time and pay proportionately. Disputes to be settled by Joint District Board.

## SHROPSHIRE DISTRICT (MR. B. FRANCIS WILLIAMS' AWARD)

	Minimum per day	
	s.	d.
Stallmen in charge and practical workmen working in stalls . . . . .	6	0
Practical timberers and skilled road repairers . . . . .	5	9
Ordinary datallers, unskilled, such as dirt fillers and emptiers . . . . .	4	9
Loaders . . . . .	5	6
Onsetters . . . . .	5	3
All other adult workmen not less than . . . . .	4	6
Boys 13-14 years of age . . . . .	2	0
"    15    "    "    . . . . .	2	2
"    16    "    "    . . . . .	2	4
"    17    "    "    . . . . .	2	6
"    18    "    "    . . . . .	3	0
"    19    "    "    . . . . .	3	6
"    20    "    "    . . . . .	4	0
At 21 to be regarded as adult workmen.		

The question as to whether an aged, infirm, or inefficient workman has the right to the minimum is left, with the settlement of other disputes, to Local Joint Committees. Workmen must attend 80 per cent. of the "week," and shortness of waggons gives the employers the usual privilege.

## SOUTH STAFFORDSHIRE (SIR WALTER ROPER LAWRENCE'S AWARD)

*Adult Workers, Thick Coal*

	Per nominal day	
	s.	d.
Pikemen (piecework, ton work or stint work) . . . . .	5	0
<i>Day Work</i>		
Pickers-in in charge . . . . .	6	6
Pikemen . . . . .	6	2
Assistant pikemen . . . . .	5	8
Roadmen and repairers . . . . .	5	4
Loaders and fillers . . . . .	5	0

*Adult Workers, Thin Coal*

	Dudley area	Wolverhampton district
	Per nominal day	
	s. d.	s. d.
Pikemen (piecework, ton work or stint work) . . . . .	4 0	3 7½

*Day Work*

Pikemen . . . . .	5 11	5 8
Brushers and blowers . . . . .	5 11	5 8
Loaders . . . . .	4 9	4 9
Adult stable cleaners and horse fettlers	3 0	—
Other adults underground . . . . .	4 0	—
Boys, 14-17 years of age . . . . .	1 10	—
„ 17-18 „ „ . . . . .	2 8	—
„ 18-21 „ „ . . . . .	3 0	—

No age limit is fixed, but lists are to be prepared of men incapable of earning the minimum wage.

Rule 6 is a safeguard against general laziness or malingering, for it provides that:

“If at any time it can be proved to the satisfaction of the Joint District Board that the output per man employed has diminished at any pit through the irregular or inefficient work performed since the scheduled minimum rates were fixed, the matter shall be brought before a special meeting of the Joint District Board, with a view to reducing the minimum wage until such time as it can be shown that the output per man has again become normal.”

## CANNOCK CHASE (SIR CLARENDON HYDE'S AWARD)

	Minimum per day	
	s.	d.
Stallmen . . . . .	6	6
Practical workmen in stalls, including holers . . . . .	6	3
Expert timberers and rock rippers . . . . .	6	0
Loaders . . . . .	5	6
Datallers and ordinary timberers . . . . .	5	4
Dirt emptiers and fillers and other unskilled labour . . . . .	4	9

						Minimum per day	
						s.	d.
Boys 14 years of age	.	.	.	.	.	2	0
" 15	"	"	.	.	.	2	2
" 16	"	"	.	.	.	2	4
" 17	"	"	.	.	.	2	6
" 18	"	"	.	.	.	3	0
" 19	"	"	.	.	.	3	6
" 20	"	"	.	.	.	4	0

(and until transferred).

The Joint District Board is the final authority for determining whether a man is to be put outside the class entitled to the minimum wage. Employers may, if men in a certain working are not earning the minimum, substitute another set of men to test the working. Men must attend 80 per cent. of the time possible.

#### FOREST OF DEAN (BOARD'S AGREEMENT)

The minimum to be paid, both to men and boys, is agreed upon at 30 per cent. above the previous standard rates of the district, an agreement which provides for rates of minima varying from 1s. 3½d. per day to 5s. 2½d.

No age limit is set with regard to the minimum, actual performance being put before anything else. The District Board is really the final arbiter in this and other matters upon which there may be a difference of opinion, though the independent chairman may be called upon. Workers must have attended 80 per cent. of the period over which claims in respect of the minimum are made, but there is no other regulation regarding attendance.

#### SOMERSET DISTRICT (CHAIRMAN'S AWARD)

In the Somerset District the Joint District Board failed to reach any agreement, and accordingly three Chairmen were appointed—Judge Austin, Mr. George Peel, and Mr. Thomas Smith—who gave an award dividing the district

into two divisions, the Radstock and the Newbury, as follows:

## RADSTOCK

		Minimum per day <i>s. d.</i>	
	Branchers .	3 3	} Plus at least 30 per cent. which may be increased proportionately, sub- ject to local modifications, with in- creases in English federated area.
	Hitchers .	3 3	
	Timbermen .	3 3	
	Breakers .	3 3	
Over 21	{ Day labourers .	2 10	
	{ Horse drivers .	2 10	
	{ Incline runners	2 10	
	{ Carting "boys"	3 0	
	Boys 14-15 .	1 0	
	" 15-16 .	1 3	
	" 16-17 .	1 6	
	" 17-18 .	1 9	
	" 18-19 .	2 0	
	" 19-20 .	2 4	
	" 20-21 .	2 8	

## NEWBURY

		Minimum per day <i>s. d.</i>	
	Branchers .	3 3	} Plus percentage, less by 25 than the percentage from time to time payable in the Radstock District.
	Hitchers .	3 3	
	Timbermen .	3 0	
	Breakers .	3 0	
Over 21	{ Day labourers .	2 8	
	{ Incline runners	2 8	
	Boys 14-15 .	0 10	
	" 15-16 .	1 1	
	" 16-17 .	1 4	
	" 17-18 .	1 7	
	" 18-19 .	1 10	
	" 19-20 .	2 2	
	" 20-21 .	2 6	

No age limit fixed with regard to minimum. An absence of one day per week deprives workers of the right to minimum. Disputes finally settled by umpire.

NORTH WALES DISTRICT (MR. B. FRANCIS WILLIAMS'  
AWARD)

*Adult Workmen*

	Minimum per day <i>s. d.</i>
For experienced bye-men or shifters (which include roadmen, repairers, and stowers), who have been employed not less than two years underground, and doggies . . . . .	5 0
Metalmen, practical timbermen, rippers, and men employed in packing the working-places . . . . .	6 0
Hookers-on in charge . . . . .	6 0
All other hookers-on and takers-off (adults) . . . . .	5 0
Colliers, including all men employed at the coal face (other than loaders and trolleyers), namely—contractors, holers, cutters, rippers, packers, men in charge of holing and cutting machinery, and all other men employed at the coal face getting coal and preparing it for the loaders, and also in timbering working-places and roadways thereto, removing falls or clearing obstructions to their own working-place . . . . .	6 0
Loaders . . . . .	4 10
Loaders (piecework) . . . . .	5 0
Haulage enginemen . . . . .	4 0
All other adult workmen . . . . .	4 9

Boys over 21 are regarded as adults, but below that age, starting with a basis of 2*s.* per day at the age of fourteen, they rise 2*d.* per day at fourteen-and-a-half, and subsequently 2*d.* every six months afterwards to a maximum of 4*s.* 2*d.* at twenty-and-a-half.

Aged men include all over 60 years of age. Workmen must attend five-sixths of the possible number of shifts per week, or forfeit the right to the minimum. Shortness of waggons is legitimate ground for shortening time. Disputes

respecting age or infirmity and consequent incapacity to be settled by Government Committee. Independent chairman to have last voice in other disputes.

### SCOTLAND (CHAIRMAN'S AWARD)

In Scotland, as in Somerset, three chairmen, the Hon. Alastair O. M. Mackenzie, K.C., Sir Thomas Mason, and Mr. John Burnett, were asked to give their decisions and to frame rules. Their award was :

<i>Adult Workmen</i>		Minimum per day	
		s.	d.
Coal miners, fillers, and drawers working to coal			
miners or contractors, machine men, machine			
or conveyor workers . . . . .			
		5	10
Brushers, stonemen, and mine drivers . . . . .			
		5	10
Firemen and shot firers . . . . .			
		5	6
Roadsmen, reddsmen, repairers or timbermen,			
and oncost drawers . . . . .			
		5	0
All others . . . . .			
		4	9
Boys employed at oncost work :			
14-15 years of age . . . . .			
		2	2
15-16 " " . . . . .			
		2	6
16-17 " " . . . . .			
		2	10
17-18 " " . . . . .			
		3	4
18-19 " " . . . . .			
		3	10
19-20 " " . . . . .			
		4	3
20-21 " " . . . . .			
		4	6
Boys, excepting those employed at oncost work :			
14-15 years of age . . . . .			
		2	7
15-16 " " . . . . .			
		3	2
16-17 " " . . . . .			
		3	8
17-18 " " . . . . .			
		4	2
18-19 " " . . . . .			
		4	8
19-20 " " . . . . .			
		5	0
20-21 " " . . . . .			
		5	4



An age limit of 65 is fixed, though younger men may be held to be too old to be entitled to the minimum. The usual safeguards are provided. In the Canonbie Colliery special rates, from 1s. to 1s. 10d. per day lower, were fixed on July 30, 1912.

### WEST YORKSHIRE DISTRICT (JUDGE AMPHLETT'S AWARD)

This district is subdivided into Eastern and Western subdivisions.

#### *Eastern Subdivision*

	Minimum per day	
	s.	d.
Qualified getters (hand or machine) . . . . .	6	8
Trammers and fillers . . . . .	5	8
Leading bye-workmen (those in charge of pit bottom or otherwise entrusted with superintendence) . . . . .	6	0
All other workmen . . . . .	5	0
Boys to be paid 2s. to 4s. 9d. per day.		

#### *Western Subdivision*

	Minimum per day	
	s.	d.
Qualified getters (hand or machine) . . . . .	6	2
Trammers and fillers . . . . .	5	2
Leading bye-workmen (those in charge of pit bottom or otherwise entrusted with superintendence) . . . . .	5	6
All other workmen . . . . .	4	10
Boys to be paid 2s. to 4s. 4d. per day.		

Special rates are made for one mine.

Aged workmen are all over 65 and such others over 60 who are, by reason of age, unable to do a fair day's work. Workmen must attend 80 per cent. of the possible shifts per week, and the rules providing safeguards are very strict.

Minima can be lost by reason of a strike of other workers in the same shift. Committees appointed as and when required by the two Secretaries of the District Board shall settle all disputes, though the District Board itself can discuss and settle differences if possible. Failing such agreement, independent chairman can settle. Special rules safeguard the workmen from undue or unfair pressure.

#### WARWICKSHIRE DISTRICT (BOARD'S AWARD)

Stallmen . . . . .	7s. net as per agreement, Nov. 1911
Loaders (at the face) . . . . .	5s. 4d.
Repairers, <i>i.e.</i> head timberers, pickmen, and getters . . . . .	{ 6s. 1d. for 8 hours 5s. 4d. for 7 hours
Other repairers (not merely shovelmen or other classes of workmen) . . . . .	5s. 4d.
All adults and other descriptions of workmen other than the above . . . . .	4s. 6d.

Boys at fourteen years to receive 2s. per day, rising by instalments every six months until the age of twenty-one years is reached, the daily minimum at that age being 4s. 6d.

It is understood that the figures above quoted refer to wages when standing at 50 per cent. above the basis, and that all advances and reductions are to be calculated as before.

The District Board to be the final authority for settling any dispute. Other rules as to attendance at work and conduct on the same lines as generally agreed upon. No limit fixed with regard to aged workmen. Rules have been submitted to the Chairman of the Joint District Board, Sir Walter R. Lawrence, and approved by him.

DERBYSHIRE DISTRICT, EXCLUSIVE OF SOUTH DERBYSHIRE  
(HON. W. BARRY LINDLEY'S AWARD)

Adult Workers	District No. 1	District No. 2
	Per day s. d.	Per day s. d.
Contractors on the coal face . . . . .	6 8	7 0
Daymen at coal face . . . . .	6 0	6 6
Holers . . . . .	5 8	6 2
Loaders . . . . .	5 2	5 9
Loaders doing their own timbering . . . . .	6 0	6 6
Drivers of Mechanical Coal Cutters . . . . .	6 8	7 0
Man in front . . . . .	6 0	6 6
Gummers . . . . .	5 4	6 0
Rippers . . . . .	6 2	6 8
Timberers (first) . . . . .	6 2	6 8
" (second) . . . . .	5 4	6 0
Chargemen (first) . . . . .	6 0	6 8
" (second) . . . . .	5 4	6 2
Fillers and Gobbers . . . . .	4 9	5 3
Datallers (first) . . . . .	5 8	6 2
" (second) . . . . .	4 9	5 3
Onsetters (first) . . . . .	5 6	6 0
" (second) . . . . .	4 9	5 3
Corporals . . . . .	5 0	5 4
Men working on haulage road . . . . .	4 9	5 5
Motormen and Enginemmen . . . . .	4 6	4 9
Horse keepers (head) . . . . .	4 9	4 9
" (second) . . . . .	4 6	4 6

Boys in both districts commence at 2s. per day at the age of fourteen, and rise to 4s. 5d. at twenty-and-a-half, 3d. per day extra being paid to boys between the ages of seventeen and twenty-one when working in stalls.

The Joint District Board, by arrangement with the districts of Nottinghamshire and of Lancashire and Cheshire, have given certain new definitions of districts to various collieries. Certain special rules are laid down in regard to particular collieries, and sixty-five years is fixed as the age limit under which the minimum can be claimed.

Workmen must attend 80 per cent. of the time available,

and any dispute respecting rules is to be decided finally by an independent chairman.

### NOTTINGHAMSHIRE DISTRICT (JUDGE STANGER'S AWARD)

<i>Adults</i>		Minimum per day	
		<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Contractors at coal face . . . . .		7	3
Daymen (experienced) on coal face . . . . .		7	0
Holers . . . . .		6	2
Loaders . . . . .		6	2
Drivers (machine coal cutters) . . . . .		7	1
Cleaners „ „ . . . . .		5	0
Timberers „ „ . . . . .		5	4
Stonemen, rippers, getters-out by contract and timbermen . . . . .		7	0
Stonemen, rippers, getters-out by contract and timbermen (second) . . . . .		6	2
Fillers and gobbers . . . . .		5	0
Datallers (chargemen) . . . . .		6	6
„ (others) . . . . .		5	8
Corporals . . . . .		5	9
Men on haulage roads . . . . .		5	0
Onsetters (chargemen) . . . . .		5	9
„ (second) . . . . .		5	0
Motor and engine men . . . . .		5	0
Horsekeepers (head) . . . . .		4	10
„ (under) . . . . .		4	6
Furnacemen . . . . .		5	0

Boys at fourteen are paid 2*s.* per day, rising by gradual instalments to 4*s.* 10*d.*

These rates apply to all top hard mines with one exception, a slightly lower rate being fixed for mines other than top hard. Certain mines in Nottingham district are being treated as situate in the district of Derbyshire and others as situate in the district of South Yorkshire. Certain Derbyshire mines are included in the district of Nottinghamshire.

The age limit above which a workman shall not be

entitled to a minimum wage is fixed at sixty-five years. Workmen must attend 80 per cent. of the time available. Any question of dispute is to be settled finally by the chairman's casting vote.

### SOUTH WALES DISTRICT, INCLUDING MONMOUTH (VISCOUNT ST. ALDWYN'S AWARD)

#### *Adults*

The wages are a standard rate of day wage plus percentage varying from time to time as agreed upon under the Conciliation Board Agreement of December, 1910.

Standard rate  
of day wage  
*s. d.*

- (1) Collier in charge of a working place, who is a regular pieceworker, and is prevented from earning piecework wages by a fault in the seam or other cause arising in the colliery and beyond his own control, or by a request from the management to work away from his place on more than 7 days during a period of 3 months . . . . . 4 7

(In any other case the minimum day wage rate of such a collier working at day wages away from his working place shall be the minimum day wage rate applicable to the class in which he is working.)

- (2) Collier in charge of a working place who is not a worker at piecework (subject to the above rule) . . . . . 4 3
- (3) Colliers' helpers . . . . . 3 4
- (4) Timbermen and repairers or rippers doing timbering work :
- Regular piece-workers . . . . . 4 7
- Day wage men . . . . . 4 3
- (5) Rippers (not doing timbering work) . . . . . 4 0
- (6) Assistant timbermen and assistant rippers . . . . . 3 4
- (7) Roadmen . . . . . 3 7
- (8) Hitchers (leading) . . . . . 3 10
- „ (ordinary) . . . . . 3 6

		Standard rate of day wage	
		s.	d.
(9)	Ostlers and labourers . . . . .	3	2
(10)	Underground hauling engineers, electric, steam, and compressed air :		
	Main haulage . . . . .	3	4
	Subsidiary haulage . . . . .	3	2
(11)	Underground pumpmen, electric, steam, and compressed air :		
	Main pumps . . . . .	3	4
	Small pumps . . . . .	3	2
(12)	Fitters if employed entirely underground . . . . .	3	4
(13)	Electricians       "       "       " . . . . .	3	5
(14)	Rope splicers       "       "       " . . . . .	3	10
(15)	Masons and pitmen       "       " . . . . .	4	2
(16)	Cog cutters . . . . .	3	5
(17)	Timber drawers and airway men . . . . .	3	10
(18)	Shacklers and spragmen and watermen . . . . .	3	2
(19)	Lamplockers, lamplighters, and oilers . . . . .	3	0
(20)	Coal-cutter men . . . . .	4	3

The standard rate for boys commences at 1s. 6d. per day and goes to 3s. The lowest percentage which can be added to these standard rates is 35 per cent. and the highest 60.

Special district rates are made for the miners of Pembrokeshire.

Privileges as to fuel, extras, etc., previously existing, are to remain. The age limit for the minimum is sixty-three. A workman must attend five-sixths of the possible working days and, in case of accident or illness, shall, if required, submit himself to an examination by a duly qualified medical man appointed by the employer.

If a workman, on arriving at his working place, is unable to work there for some cause over which he has no control and is offered, but refuses, other work which he may properly be called upon to perform, he shall not be entitled to claim any wages in respect of that shift.

Questions in dispute to be settled, after consideration by

officials of the mine and officials of the men, by an umpire mutually agreed upon. Certificates as to infirmity, etc., are to be given. Overmen, traffic foremen, firemen, assistant firemen, bratticemen, shotfirers, master hauliers, farriers, and persons whose duty is that of inspection or supervision, are not workmen to whom the Act applies.

## BRISTOL DISTRICT (MR. PEARSON'S AWARD)

<i>Adults</i>								Minimum per day	
								<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Hewers	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	3	4
Fillers and carters	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	2	8
Timbermen	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	3	3
Jiggers	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	2	10
Trammers	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	2	6
Hitchers	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	2	2
Incline haulage riders	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	2	10
Horse drivers	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	2	8
Underground enginemen	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	3	0
Onsetters	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	2	11
Branchers	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	3	3
Miscellaneous labourers	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	2	11
Repairers	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	3	1
Rippers	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	3	1

Boys at 14 get 1s. per day plus percentage, rising to 2s. 6d. at 20 years of age.

In order to arrive at the minimum wage in each case the various percentages from time to time payable at the various collieries in the Bristol District are to be added to these rates respectively. Special rates are made for certain other groups. An agreement made on November 20, 1911, fixes the scale of pay higher than the above award.

No age limit is fixed, but the usual safeguards are inserted. A week is the period over which a man's earnings are pooled for the purpose of defining his claim

to a minimum. Any dispute to be settled finally by the independent chairman of the Board.

It may be pointed out that the miners' strike was conducted for the purpose of securing, amongst other things, some uniformity of conditions of service. It is admitted that there are extraordinary difficulties in the way of attending this end, but the awards given and the agreements recited under the Act accentuate the difference in these local conditions greatly. There are striking examples of difference of interpretation as regards the Act itself, and the general effect has been to make "confusion worse confounded." For instance, in Scotland, overmen are regarded as outside the scope of the Act, but firemen and shotfirers and others having statutory duties are included. In Cannock Chase and Warwickshire, overmen, firemen, examiners, shotlighters, horsekeepers and others are excluded from the Act, while in Lincolnshire and Cheshire, South Yorkshire, Shropshire, South Staffordshire, Cumberland, all are included and entitled to a minimum wage. In Cleveland all save blacksmiths and blacksmiths' assistants are included, but shotfirers, horsekeepers and others are rejected in Leicester, firemen, shotlighters and others in North Wales, Somerset, and North Staffordshire.

It is difficult to understand the reason of these differences, and it is possible that over this and other points a definite reading covering the whole of the country will have to be laid down.

The Miners' Federation met at Blackpool in August 1912, to consider the disparities in the above Awards in connection with the Coal Mines Act, the object being to focus the attention of delegates on the general results so that a movement might be initiated for the purposes of standardisation. This, it is understood, will be undertaken in the near future.



## APPENDIX M

### RAILWAY CONCILIATION BOARDS AND RAILWAY RETURNS, 1911

#### RAILWAY CONCILIATION BOARDS

IN the event of a deputation of railway servants waiting upon a company with certain demands failing to come to an agreement respecting the same, the Conciliation Board is called together to consider the questions. The first duty of a Conciliation Board is to elect an independent chairman, whose decision shall be final.

In certain instances agreement upon the schedules brought forward by the men in 1912 was reached without the Board being called upon. Notably was this the case in regard to the London and North-Western and the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railways, and accordingly no chairman has yet been appointed on these Boards. The chairmen of the other Boards are :

Port Talbot . . . .	Judge Austin
Great Northern . . . .	" "
London and South-Western . . . .	" "
Great Western . . . .	" "
Midland . . . .	Sir Robert Romer
Great Eastern . . . .	" "
North Stafford . . . .	Judge Parry
C. L. C. . . .	Sir David Harrel
Great Central . . . .	" "
Caledonian . . . .	Sir T. Ratcliffe Ellis
G. & S. W. . . .	" " "
Highland . . . .	Sheriff A. O. M Mackenzie

In the case of the North British and other companies, chairmen have not yet been appointed; but agreement appears unlikely without the intervention of the Boards, so doubtless such appointments will be made in the autumn of 1912.

The awards made by Judge Austin on the Great Western Railway have not much bearing on the schedules of 1912, dealing mainly with certain local matters which were in dispute before such schedules were passed.

### RAILWAY RETURNS FOR 1911

The railway returns for 1911 are given below to supplement those on page 48.

	£
Paid-up Capitals of Railway Companies (including Loans and Debenture Stock)	1,324,018,361
Amounts by which Capital has been nominally increased by conversion, consolidation, or division of stock, included in above . . . . .	198,082,547
Gross Receipts :	
From Passengers . . . . .	53,955,007
From Goods and Materials . . . . .	63,285,055
From Miscellaneous . . . . .	9,959,508
Expenditure . . . . .	78,617,824
Profits . . . . .	48,581,746

The gross receipts equalled 1s. 11d. on every £1 of paid-up capital. The average dividend paid on ordinary capital was 3·62 per cent.

## APPENDIX N

### THE NEW FORM OF TRADE FEDERATION

A NEW form of Trade Federation has taken shape in Germany. It is called the National Workmen's Movement for Industrial Peace (*Wirtschaftsfriedliche Nationale Arbeiterbewegung*, founded 1910). Its main distinctive feature is that it aims at establishing mutual trust between employer and employed, and attaches the greatest weight to securing co-operation and a full understanding with him. It does not believe that a centralised organisation is the best foundation for supporting the real interests of the workmen. On patriotic grounds it opposes any co-operation with Social Democracy; hence its designation "Yellow" as opposed to "Red." Of the various groups interested in the movement the most important is the Federation of German "Werkvereine," societies formed among men who are all employed at the same works, and consequently only possible among the employees of the larger undertakings. Then there are societies called National Workmen's Unions (*Bund Vaterländischer Arbeitervereine*), which bring together men separated over smaller undertakings in a particular district, and finally there are societies for special industries. All these groups are represented on the Chief Committee of National Workmen's Societies, each being entitled to have one representative for every 5,000 members. The Committee keeps together the groups as a united whole, decides on policy, but does not interfere

with the internal affairs of the various groups, and excludes all questions of religion or party politics. The Federation has now a total membership of 150,000, and is increasing rapidly. The better-organised Werkvereine also conduct social propaganda. They avoid strikes, and the employers treat their members with special consideration. As a result they are opposed by the Trade Unions of the old school and by the Social Democrats, but there is some measure of co-operation between them and the so-called "Christian" or Catholic Trade Unions. The latter still, however, rely on the strike as an effective weapon for promoting their interests.

## APPENDIX O

### THE EIGHT-HOUR DAY

THE report of the Special Commission appointed by the International Association for Labour Legislation to inquire into the subject of "Hours of Labour in Continuous Industries" was issued in 1912. The Commission was appointed at a delegates' meeting of the Association at Lugano in 1910, which declared the twelve-hour day customary in continuous industries to be injurious to health. Its members were asked to report on :

- (1) The best method of arranging shifts.
- (2) The possibility of prohibiting the night work of adults in certain continuous processes, or of regulating such work where, for technical reasons, work must be carried on at night ; and
- (3) The necessity for the international regulation of the matter.

The Commission met in London in June, the meetings being attended by delegates from nine European countries and the United States. The Commissioners expressed the opinion that the eight-hour shift in continuous industries (industries working night and day) was the best shift system for such work, and they strongly recommended it both from the point of view of the physical and moral welfare of the workers and in the social and economic interests of society generally. They considered that in the iron and steel industries the eight-hour day was very necessary and was practicable,

and they urged that the various Governments should be asked to arrange a conference of the interested States with a view to arriving at an international agreement as to the introduction of the eight-hour day in these industries. They also thought that the national sections of the associations should, by investigations, prepare the way for the introduction of the eight-hour day or of a corresponding maximum week in continuous industries where: (a) the working day exceeds ten hours in twenty-four; (b) each set of men works more than six shifts a week. As regards glassworks, they considered that the investigations were sufficiently advanced for the conclusion of an international convention to be recommended, on the basis of a maximum working week of fifty-six hours, with an uninterrupted weekly rest of twenty-four hours.

The Commissioners reported that in the United Kingdom there had been of late years a marked tendency towards the eight-hour system in the iron and steel trade, in some important sections of which it has been successfully introduced. They added:

“Experience of the working of the different processes where the eight-hour day has been introduced all goes to show that there are, as a rule, no serious technical difficulties to be encountered when changing from the twelve to the eight-hour shift. In such special cases where it is necessary or very desirable for the same man to work continuously for a longer spell (as in some work in glass factories), the Commission is of opinion that a maximum week should be established.”

# INDEX

## A

- Adult Suffrage Bill, 24
- Agricultural labourers, 182-3
- Anarchism, definition of, 36
- Anti-Militarism, 29
- Apprentices :
  - Boilermakers, 158-9
  - Engineers, 168-9
- Arbitration :
  - In Australia, 276
  - In England, 288
- Australia, industrial unions, 36
- Labour legislation, 274-6

## B

- Baking trade, programme of, 201-2
- Benefit systems, 256
- Black-coated workers, 263
- Boilermakers, 147, 157, 158
- Bonus systems, 256
- Boots and shoes, 210-13
- Bowman, Guy, 34
- Brooklands Agreement. *See* Cotton trade
- Budgets, weekly working, 280-5
- Building trade, 184-96
  - Builders, classes of, 185-8
  - Conciliation Boards, 190-2
  - Customs alteration, 189-90
  - Employment, the Ferro-Concrete System and, 188-9
  - Federation (employers'), 195
  - " (men's), 194-5

- Building trade (*continued*)—
  - Non-Union labour, 192-3
  - Numbers employed in, 188
  - Programme, general, 195
  - Wage advances, recent, 193-4
  - Wages, yearly total of, 196

## C

- Canada, legislation, 272-3
- Capitalism :
  - And the worker, 244
  - Definition of, 36
- Carrying trades and wages, 242-3
- Chartist Movement, 14
- Church and Labour, 41
- Clerks, National Union, 263-4
- Coal Mines Minimum Wage Act, 39, 271
- Collectivism, definition of, 35
- Communism, definition of, 35
- Conscious minority, 311
- Co-partnership, 255-61
- Cost of living, 238
- Cotton and textile trades, 99-123
  - Agreement, Bradford Dyers', 119-21
  - Agreement, Brooklands, 108
  - " Huddersfield, 118
  - " weaving, 109-11
  - Associations, cotton, 107
  - Capital, cotton, 101
  - Cotton, numbers employed in, 106

Cotton and textile trades (*continued*)—Cotton, personalities in, 116,  
117Cotton, rates of wages, 114,  
115

Disputes, recent, 112

Dispute, weavers', 1911-12,  
111-12

Jute, 122

Lancashire's superiority in  
cotton, 102"Loan" money, Lancashire,  
103-5

Looms, cotton, 101

Nottingham Board, 123

Short time, 113

Silk Trade Board, 121

Spindles, cotton, 100

Woollen trade, earnings, 118

" " situation of,  
118

## D

Devonport Agreement. *See*  
Cotton trade

Direct action, 29

Dockers' strike. *See* Transport  
trade

"Down tools" policy, 250

## E

Employers and Labour unrest,  
239-44Employers' Liability Act, 227,  
269

Engineering, 161-71

Agreement, 161-8

Eight hours, 169

Men's leaders, 171

System of working, 161

## F

Factory Acts, 268

Fair Wage resolution, 37

"Five and two" controversy,  
40

Foreign Labour legislation, 279

## G

Gasworkers, 180

General Federation of Trade  
Unions, 18-23

Gosling, Harry, 77

Government:

And Labour unrest, 233-8

Powers in trade disputes,  
309-10

Promised legislation, 236-7

## H

Home work trades, 199

Hours of labour, 305

House of Commons action, 237

## I

Individualism, definition of, 35  
Value in business, 239Industrial Agreements Bill,  
251Industrial Council, creation of  
and composition, 233-5,  
302-4Industrial uneasiness, defini-  
tion of, 36International Federations of  
Trade Federations, 44

International leaders, 46

International Socialist Bureau,  
43International Socialist Con-  
gress, 45

International working, 43-6

Irritation strike, 29

## J

Joint undertakings, 237

Joint working and Labour  
organisations, 23



Jute workers. *See* Cotton and textile trades

L

Labourers, general, situation among, 179-82

Labour Exchanges, 238

„ legislation, 267-79

Labour Party :

Labour organisation, 12-27

Minimum wage, 40

Origin, history, and programme, 17-27

Labour's most advanced demands, 306

Labour unrest :

Government attitude, 233-8

Labour proposals for, 248

Suggested remedies, 239-54

Legal privileges and rulings, 219-32

Limitation of hours, 248-9

Limited partnership scheme, 260

M

Macara, Sir Charles, 117

Macdonald, Ramsay : Industrial Agreements Bill, 251

Mann, Tom, 30, 76, 77, 85, 242-5

Metal workers, 172-8

Blast-furnacemen, 172

Cleveland Agreement, 172-3

Men's leaders, 178

Puddlers, 173-6

Steel smelters, 176-8

System of working, 172-8

Systems of wage payment, 177

Middle class, and Labour unrest, 262-6

Minimum wage, 37-42

Mining, 124-43

Capital, 124

Comparative outputs, 126-7

Mining (*continued*)—

Decisions and awards under the Minimum Wage Act, 320-42

Early conciliation machinery, 128-9

Minimum Wage Act, 313-9

Numbers employed in, 126

Organisations, 125

Personalities, 141-3

Previous attempts at a general strike, 129-32

Progress of the negotiations during the strike, 133-41

The general strike of 1912, 129

The men's demands, 1912, 133

The minimum wage, 129

The South Wales Agreement, 131-2

The Standards of wages, 129

The Syndicalist influence, 136-37

Mutualism, definition of, 35

N

Nationalisation of Railways and Canals Bill, 26

New Zealand, Labour legislation, 277-8

Non-Unionists, 232

O

Osborne judgment, 221-4

Reversal Bill, 24

Overtime denounced, 248-9

P

Peaceful picketing, 307-8

Penal clause, 212, 237

Port of London Authority Act, 271

Postal agitation, 299-301

Premium bonus system, 169-70  
 Producing trades and wages, 240-1  
 Profit sharing, 255-61  
 Printing trade, 213-18  
 Public and Labour unrest, 252-4

## R

Railways, 47-70  
   Amalgamation proposals, 64-5  
   Cost of stations, 298  
   Disaffected areas, 62  
   Future prospects, 66-7  
   History of men's demands, 55  
   Hours of labour, 55-7  
   Mr. Asquith on, 54  
   Personalities, 67-70  
   Returns and statistics, 47-51, 343-4  
   The A.S.R.S. and the transport strike, 63  
   The Central London dispute, 63  
   The first conciliation scheme, 57-8  
   The first strike, 58-9  
   The Metropolitan dispute, 63-4  
   The Royal Commission of 1911, 60  
   The second conciliation scheme, 61-2  
   Wages, average, 52-3  
 Right to Work Bill, 25

## S

Sabotage, 29  
 Share system, 257  
 Shipbuilding, 144-60  
   Agreements, 148-57  
   Eight-hours question, 158

Shipbuilding (*continued*)—  
   Men's leaders, 160  
   System of working, 144-7  
 Shipping (existing Manning scale), 292-97  
   *See also* Transport trade  
 Shop Assistants, National Union, 264-5  
 Sliding scale :  
   Success, 260  
   Working, 172-7  
 Socialism, definition of, 53  
 South Africa, legislation, 274  
 Syndicalism :  
   Definition of, 35  
   Rise of, 28-34

## T

Taff Vale judgment, 224-5  
 Tailoring trade, 202-6  
   Associations, Masters', 203  
   Bespoke, 202-3  
   Conciliation Boards, 203-4  
   Strike of 1912, 204-5  
   System, the Log, 203  
   Trade Boards Act, 205-6  
 Textile trades. *See* Cotton and textile trades  
 Trade and the Labour crises, 287-91  
 Trade Boards Act, 39, 199, 271  
   " " denounced, 235-6  
 Trades Union Congress :  
   And Labour Exchanges, 235  
   Origin, 15  
   Programme, 15, 248  
 Trade Unionism, definition of, 36  
   Acts, 267  
   Bellicose utterances, 246-7  
   Legalisation of, 219-20  
   Strength of, 253  
 Trade Unions, General Federation of, 18  
 Tramway workers, 206-10  
   Municipal Tram Conciliation Boards, 208-9  
   Organisations, 206

Tramway workers (*cont.*)—  
 Stalybridge strike, 207  
 „ Agreement, 208  
 Transport strike :  
 Devonport Agreement, 81,  
 82, 83  
 Lessons of the 1912 strike,  
 95-6  
 Lord Devonport's attitude,  
 92  
 National strike threat, 92-3  
 Personalities, 96-8  
 Port Authority's action, 93-4  
 The Bissell incident, 86  
 The Clarke inquiry, 91  
 The Federation, 76-7  
 The Manning campaign, 88  
 The methods in London, 72-  
 6  
 The sailors' and firemen's  
 strike, 87-9  
 The strike of 1911, 78-84

Transport strikes (*cont.*)—  
 The strike of 1912, 86-96  
 The tugmen's first demands,  
 87  
 The Thomas incident, 89-90

## U

Underpaid, the, 41  
 Unearned increment, taxation  
 of, 25

## W

Women's wages, 312  
 Women workers, 196-9  
 Workers' remedies for Labour  
 unrest, 244-52  
 Workmen's Compensation Act,  
 229-32, 270

PRINTED BY  
HAZELL, WATSON AND VINEY, LD.,  
LONDON AND AYLESBURY.

# THE "QUESTIONS OF THE DAY" SERIES.

---

## THE STATE RAILWAY MUDDLE IN AUSTRALIA. By Edwin A. Pratt, Author of "Railways and their Rates." Crown 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.

Since the Strike of a year ago there has been much discussion on Railway Nationalisation. The time is very unripe for any legislative attempt to obtain British Railways for the State ; but it is never too early to learn. Mr. Pratt is a foremost authority on all questions of transit. His book, "The State Railway Muddle in Australia," brings first-hand evidence of the System of Nationalised Railways in working. Its lessons are valuable and far-reaching.

## THE PATH OF EMPIRE. A Treatise on the Objects of the Imperial Mission. By Henry Page Croft, M.P., With a Preface by the Rt. Hon. Joseph Chamberlain, M.P. Crown 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.

"We cordially recommend this inspiring little volume and hope that it may be very widely read throughout the Empire. . . . Is informing, stimulating, practical, and instinct with virile, modern patriotism of a common-sense, work-a-day kind ; the larger patriotism of All-British Empire unity and progress."—*Standard*.

## THE MILITARY DANGER OF HOME RULE IN IRELAND. By Major-General Sir Thomas Fraser, K.C.B., C.M.G. 2s. 6d. net.

This book is a contribution to the very present controversy on Home Rule for Ireland. It has concern with the past, as well as with the present, and traces the effects of former attempts on the part of Continental Powers to intervene in Ireland, not only to the danger of Protestantism but of Great Britain and the Empire itself.

## EFFICIENCY IN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND. Some Remarks occasioned by the Report of the Archbishops' Committee on Church Finance. By W. Cunningham, D.D., F.B.A., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Archdeacon of Ely ; Author of "The Case Against Free Trade," etc. 2s. 6d. net.

"Full of clear, concise, and practical counsel which one expects from the Archdeacon of Ely."—*The Times*.

## THE POOR LAW ENIGMA. By M.

Fothergill Robinson, Ex-Guardian for the Parish of Kensington. Crown 8vo. 3s. 6d. net.

"To those anxious to understand the attitude of a thoughtful Guardian the book should be of considerable service."—*Daily News*.

"An interesting book which cannot fail to appeal to all who believe in reform of the Poor Law from within, in contra-distinction to the proposals for 'breaking-up.' . . . It should be read by Poor Law Administrators."—*Local Government Journal*.

## CHILDREN AND THE LAW. By W.

H. Stuart Garnett. With an Introduction by the Rt. Hon. Walter Runciman, M.P. Crown 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.

This is a survey of the law relating to children, and particularly to the children of the poor. This branch of law has of recent years become so voluminous and complex, and the number of persons interested in its administration has so greatly increased, that some such work has become a necessity. It is designed to answer those legal circumstances which are constantly presented to teachers, school managers, members of local education authorities and care committees, and all those engaged in philanthropic work among children and their parents.

## THE CASE AGAINST FREE TRADE.

By the Venerable Archdeacon W. Cunningham, D.D., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. With a Preface by the Rt. Hon. Joseph Chamberlain, M.P. Crown 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.

"Dr. Cunningham's admirable little book, which is simple enough and cheap enough to commend it to a very wide circle of readers, goes to the root of existing conditions with a lucidity rarely found in the writings of economists."—*The Times*.

## THE CASE AGAINST TARIFF RE-

FORM. An Answer to Dr. Cunningham's Book, "The Case Against Free Trade." By E. Enever Todd. Crown 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.

This book is intended not merely as a reply to Archdeacon Cunningham's volume, "The Case Against Free Trade," in the same series, but as a general statement of the practical value of Free Trade and of the failure of Protection under modern conditions of fierce international competition.

## TOWARDS A NATIONAL POLICY.

An Appeal to public-spirited men of all parties to consider vital national questions in a scientific spirit, regardless of party interest and prejudices. By Harry Roberts. Crown 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.

"The book is in many ways worth reading because it is alive. It is one more testimony to the growing conviction, listened to so reluctantly by all political persons, that the party system has had its day. And he sees that the most important steps taken in recent years have been built up by persons outside the political parties. His object is to call for more of this spirit inside and outside politics; and, whatever one may think of details in his programme, no one will read his book without a quickened sense of national hope and national duty."—*The Times Literary Supplement*.

## TRADE AND THE NATIONAL IDEAL.

By M. H. G. Goldie. Crown 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.

This work examines Great Britain's industrial progress towards the National Ideal, and explains why that progress demands universal military service, as a school and for defence, a new Aliens Act, and a revised Small Holdings Act. The book, being largely intended for readers unversed in political economy, shows that the capital of workmen and that of employers are equally necessary, and explains how capital is increased and wasted. Amongst other aspects of the great question with which the book deals are the effects of taxation on industrial progress, the relations of employers and workmen, and the increased production of British-grown food.

## FEDERALISM AND HOME RULE.

Letters to *The Times* upon the Constitutional Conference. By "Pacificus." Crown 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.

"They are marked by insight, imagination, discernment, and ripeness of knowledge. . . . Written from a fresh and original standpoint, and entirely detached from party, this book is a valuable contribution to the study of current constitutional problems, and contains suggestive ideas as to the probable trend of political development in this country."—*Daily Chronicle*.

## FALLACIES AND FACTS. An Answer

to "Compulsory Service." By Field-Marshal Earl Roberts, V.C., K.G. Second Impression. Crown 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.

"Lord Roberts's answer to Sir Ian Hamilton's 'Compulsory Service' is, in our opinion, conclusive. All that was wanted was a protest against the partial use of expert testimony and a refutation of Sir Ian Hamilton's 'fed-up' argument. This Lord Roberts's Part I. supplies with perfect success."—*Spectator*.

**COMPULSORY SERVICE.** By General Sir Ian Hamilton. With an Introduction by the Viscount Haldane of Cloan. 2s. 6d. net. Second Edition, with Notes on the Admiralty View of the Risk of Invasion.

"A singularly lucid and important statement by the First Sea Lord of the Admiralty on the peril of invasion. . . . It may be hoped that these words of solemn warning will sink deep into the hearts of the business men of the country."—*Daily Telegraph*.

"This volume is one that all students of Imperial Defence will welcome. . . . The whole memorandum is the work of a master of his subject, able to bring to the aid of his arguments a literary style of exceptional grace."—*Army and Navy Gazette*.

**ANCIENT AND MODERN IMPERIALISM.** An Address Delivered to the Classical Association in January 1910. By the Earl of Cromer, G.C.B., O.M., G.C.M.G. Third Impression. Crown 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.

Mr. ROOSEVELT, in his Guildhall speech, said: "Those of you who know Lord Cromer's excellent book, in which he compares Ancient and Modern Imperialism, need no words from me to prove that the dominion of modern civilised nations over the dark places of the earth has been fraught with widespread good for mankind."

**UNIVERSITIES AND NATIONAL LIFE.** By the Viscount Haldane of Cloan. Second Edition, with an added chapter, entitled—Great Britain and Germany: A Study in National Characteristics. Crown 8vo. 2s. 6d. net.

"The subjects dealt with in these papers are of far wider scope than would be imagined from this title. So far as it is possible to summarise the lesson, which they teach, they may be said to describe from various standpoints the ideal character, and to sketch out the best methods of developing it."—*Spectator*.

---

LONDON: JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET, W.





THIS BOOK IS DUE ON THE LAST DATE  
STAMPED BELOW

AN INITIAL FINE OF 25 CENTS  
WILL BE ASSESSED FOR FAILURE TO RETURN  
THIS BOOK ON THE DATE DUE. THE PENALTY  
WILL INCREASE TO 50 CENTS ON THE FOURTH  
DAY AND TO \$1.00 ON THE SEVENTH DAY  
OVERDUE.

AUG 8 1933

JAN 16 '47

JUN 28 1947

JUN 28 1947

IN STACKS

JAN 7 1965

REC'D LD

REC'D LD

NOV 22 1959

JAN 1 2'65-4 PM

11 Mar '64 DW

FEB 26 1964

ONE MONTH AFTER DUE

REC'D LD

NOV 4 - 1968

MAY 29 '64 - 10 AM

REC. CIR.

DEC

1 '76

NOV 23 1976

LD 21-50m

280212

H□8390  
.W2

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA LIBRARY

